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TWENTY CENTS

The American

FEDERATIONIST

LABOR'S MAGAZINE

1952

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The American FEDERATIONIST

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JANUARY, 1952

WILLIAM GREEN. Editor

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In This Issue

CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY.....	William Green	3
MEANY FINDS EUROPE SOFT ON COMMUNISM.....		4
YOUR DOLLAR IN 1952.....	Boris Shishkin	5
HUTCHESON RETIRES FROM CARPENTERS' PRESIDENCY.....		7
GETTING THEM REGISTERED.....		8
HOUSING SNAFU.....	Harry C. Bates	10
TAXES CUT LIVING STANDARDS.....	Matthew Woll	12
UNCLE SAM SHOULD DO IT, TOO.....	William C. Doherty	13
WE MUST FIGHT BACK.....	John Eklund	14
EDITORIALS.....	William Green	16
REPORT ON GERMANY.....	Harvey W. Brown	18
ARBITRARY FIRINGS ARE VERBOTEN.....		20
I.L.O. GIVES ITS ATTENTION TO ASIA.....		21
PRACTICING DEMOCRACY.....	Mildred H. Mahoney	23
CHINA'S WORKERS ARE SUFFERING.....	Wang Chung	26
SMART PEOPLE WORK SAFELY.....	Ned H. Dearborn	27
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS.....		28
LABOR WORKS FOR WORLD FREEDOM.....	Alex Rose	30
NEW TRICKS OF ANTI-LABOR EMPLOYERS.....	Curtis Sims	31
WHAT THEY SAY.....		32
JUNIOR UNION STORY.....	Annabel Lee Glenn	Cover

Inside

Differences

A totalitarian society differs sharply from a free society in almost every particular.

First, a totalitarian society cannot by its very nature accord to its citizens as individuals the right to determine for themselves what they should think, what they should discuss or what they should do. To accord such freedoms is contrary to the basic totalitarian concept that man is a means only, not an end—a means for serving the end of the state.

The second element of difference between a totalitarian and a free society has to do with its impact upon the social nature of man. If man is to live and work with his fellowmen happily, he must live and work in an atmosphere of confidence. Such a condition cannot exist under a totalitarian society because the thoughts and words and actions of men can be controlled only by complete police surveillance.

No man in Russia today can be sure that a fellow worker—or even a member of his family—is not an agent of the secret police. As a consequence, instead of living and working happily, life goes on under a cloud of pervasive and corroding fear.

These differences, which dramatize the failure of a totalitarian society to meet the inner needs of man, provide a complete answer to the neutralist. In addition, they point up both the need to sharpen our determination to keep our society free from any taint of totalitarianism and the manner in which this must be done.

We must be on guard against any and every activity which puts in jeopardy our rights as individuals to determine for ourselves what we should think, what we should discuss and, with proper regard to the rights of others, what we should do.

Freedom of thought is a basic human right, from which flow freedom of religion, freedom of press and freedom of assembly and association. But freedom of thought is a sterile and meaningless right unless we are free to discuss, to criticize and to debate. Criticism, discussion and debate are the only means to peaceful progress. All history shows that without them a society must stagnate and die.

The thought control of dictatorships is imposed by force, but discussion, criticism and debate can be stifled by fear as well as by force.

Paul G. Hoffman.

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Challenge and Opportunity

by William Green

LET us make 1952 a year of progress.

Labor is proud of its contribution to the progress thus far achieved in the defense program. Our work is still cut out for us. Our first responsibility in 1952 is to push defense production to new heights. Only in that way can we make peace secure and freedom safe from aggression.

This is the great challenge that labor must face and master. We all have a supreme stake in freedom. We all have a common cause in the survival of America. We all abhor communism and war. By performing our defense assignments to the best of our ability, we will be serving our own interests as well as the public interest.

To make 1952 a year of progress, we must first make it a year of action. Giving a good day's work on the job is not enough. All of us must devote some of our own time to keeping informed on national and international affairs and to political action.

With all the earnestness at my command, I repeat Samuel Gompers' inspired message to the members of the American Federation of Labor—to be a good union man, you must first be a good citizen.

If we serve together and act together, the opportunities before us are limitless.

Congress is back in session. Labor can place little reliance on this Congress. It has failed the nation too miserably in the past. But this is a national election year. If we make our voices heard and demand action from our Senators and Congressmen, perhaps we can get some prompt correc-

tion of inadequate price controls and inequitable tax legislation.

Our big opportunity lies ahead in November. Labor can make the best of it if every union member makes certain to register and to vote and gets his family and friends to do the same. Our trade union movement can make good on its pledge to elect a liberal Congress next November if each and every member also responds to our appeals for \$1 contributions to Labor's League for Political Education. That \$1 investment is certain to pay big dividends to the working people of our country.

If we succeed with your help in electing a liberal Congress, the Taft-Hartley Act can be repealed and be replaced by a fair labor-management statute. We can get price stabilization that will match wage stabilization and protect the purchasing power of the wage dollar from inflation. We can get a decent defense housing program. We can obtain broader federal aid to the schools and to medical education. We may even be able to win health insurance.

Aside from these economic and social gains, a liberal Congress would strengthen America's hand in world affairs. It would convince Soviet Russia that our country has the will to fight and the strength to fight in defense of freedom and international justice. It would promote world peace and world prosperity.

Surely the men and women of our labor movement will not forfeit such opportunities by default. Surely all of us can resolve in this new year to serve together and to act together for a better America and a more peaceful world.

George Meany Finds Europe

SOFT ON COMMUNISM



MR. MEANY

WESTERN Europe is appallingly soft on communism, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany of the American Federation of Labor reported recently. He made this statement on his return from Europe.

As a result of this softness, Brother Meany said, the fight against Communist totalitarianism "has not advanced in Europe."

In a shipboard interview the secretary of the A. F. of L. said:

"In the two key European countries, France and Italy, the labor movements, the big unions, are still in Communist hands.

"There is no real cooperation in Europe on the issue of Communist unions. Europeans are soft on the issue of communism. You are given the feeling that only Americans are worried about communism."

Mr. Meany criticized French and Italian businessmen and the French government for the continued strength of communism in France and Italy. French and Italian businessmen are "playing" with the Communist unions, the A. F. of L. officer reported.

As far as the French government is concerned, said Mr. Meany, the Communist party, through its agency, the C.G.T., is given governmental recognition and authority.

The A. F. of L. leader said the benefits of the Marshall Plan "have lost their value to European workers, whose wages are dropping because of mounting inflationary pressures and taxes, which workers pay but businessmen don't."

Mr. Meany told the reporters that in his report to the International Labor Relations Committee of the American Federation of Labor he will discuss the relationship of Yugoslav trade unions to the international free trade union movement.

He indicated that the American Federation of Labor would strongly oppose any move to bring Yugoslavia into the I.C.F.T.U.

"Before Tito could get any support from free trade unionists," he said, "he ought to liberate the trade unionists imprisoned in his country and lift the dictatorship of the Yugoslav Communist party under Tito. We make

the same demands of Tito as we make of Franco."

One of the most discouraging factors in Europe today, Mr. Meany reported, is "the lack of British cooperation with Western Europe, its refusal to go along with the Schuman Plan and the European army."

"Britain can no more stand aloof from continental Europe," he said, "than the United States. A strongly cooperating Britain means economic integration of the continent, political unity and a democratically rearmed Germany, without which there can be no real European defense army."

Mr. Meany warned that the United States is "losing the propaganda battle because of the absolute lack of over-all policy by the State Department."

While there is a Voice of America directed behind the Iron Curtain, this country is not meeting the propaganda of Moscow in the nations of the world which are still considered free but which are targets for the Communists' propaganda, Mr. Meany stated to the reporters who interviewed him.

Your DOLLAR in 1952



GET a dollar bill out of your wallet and take a good look at it. Black filigreed printing on its face, with George Washington, tight-lipped, peering out of the oval. And a green back. A familiar-looking bill, and it has that familiar feel. Worth a hundred cents.

But this dollar bill of yours does not go as far as it did. As a matter of fact, it will buy only a little better than half as much as it did thirteen, fourteen years ago. Since the first of January, it buys only fifty postcards instead of 100. Yet it happens to be the most stable and the most reliable piece of currency anywhere.

It is important to keep it that way—steady and stable. It is important to prevent its shrinking. To keep the value of the dollar just where it is now will call for more courageous and determined anti-inflation action from Congress at this session than it was willing to take in the last. So a few pointed words to your Congressman and Senators right now will not be amiss.

But don't think for a minute that there the matter can rest. The chances are that you will have to write again and again. And probably put up a pretty stiff argument.

The way things are likely to go in the early months of 1952, a lot of people will be saying:

"What do you mean, *inflation*? We are just about face to face with a recession, and you talk about inflation! Look at lagging retail sales," they will insist. "Look at the tough time a lot of industries are having—from television to textiles."

There is a good deal of pretty solid evidence that in the second half of the year inflation will shrink the dollar quite a bit, unless firm action is taken in the first half to prevent a sharp rise in prices. Let us take a quick look at this evidence.

A look back at the years before

By **BORIS SHISHKIN**

Economist, American Federation of Labor

World War II will show that from 1936 through 1940 prices of living necessities remained fairly stable. War fever hit consumer prices early in 1941 and sent them up in a steady climb until the spring of 1943. This hike raised consumer price levels nearly 25 per cent.

From the spring of 1943 until V-J Day in August, 1945, the O.P.A. struggled mightily to keep prices under control. During this period of peak war activity and the greatest wartime expenditures, consumer prices remained fairly stable, rising less than five per cent. As pressure for relaxation of price controls increased, prices continued to creep upward, accounting for another few percentage points.

When price controls were finally abandoned, consumer prices went straight on up, like a toy balloon whose string has slipped out of a small boy's clutch. As the result, between the spring of 1946 and the fall of 1948 prices climbed to the postwar peak, 75 per cent above the prewar level.

This 75 per cent rise in prices brought the buying power of the consumer's prewar dollar to 62½ cents. Interestingly enough, the inflationary cut in the value of the dollar was far greater *after* the war than its loss in buying power *during* the war. Between the fall of 1939 and August, 1945, the prewar dollar's purchasing

power was cut 15 cents. The postwar cut—between August, 1945, and August, 1948, was 22½ cents, or half again as much.

Between August, 1948, and February, 1950, consumer prices slipped down a little; they now stood at 68 per cent above prewar. Soon after came the Communist invasion of the Republic of Korea, the counterattack and the move toward general rearmament of the free world.

These events set off a wave of the wildest commodity speculation on record. Wool, rubber, copper—any raw material that might be needed in a defense program—was bought up, either for future use or for resale at higher prices. This speculative buying sent up wholesale prices of most commodities. The wholesale index of woolen goods, for example, went up from 146 in May, 1950, to 244 in May, 1951. Some commodity prices went up more than 150 per cent.

It was this unchecked commodity speculation, plus unrestrained business borrowing, that set off the post-Korean inflationary cycle. Consumer prices—reflecting your living costs—which were 68 per cent above prewar in February, 1950, climbed to 88.6 per cent above prewar by November, 1951. By that time your dollar was worth only 54¼ cents in buying power at prewar prices.

But while retail prices continued to climb throughout 1951, wholesale

and commodity markets, except food, showed signs of a bad hangover after the speculative spree that hit full stride in the summer of 1950 and ended in March, 1951.

For example, crude rubber, which had quadrupled in price between January and November, 1950, was worth a third less than the peak price by the end of 1951. In textiles, woolen goods slipped off 33 per cent from the peak and even cotton goods dropped more than 20 per cent.

Why did this happen in the midst of defense mobilization and nearly full employment? There were several important reasons.

First, there were too many speculators intent on making a fast buck fast. What they had bought was solely for the purpose of resale at a quick profit. When, after a few months, they began to dump the stuff on the market in order to cash in on the rise, wholesale prices began to slip.

Second, businessmen who had done a fancy job of hoarding and had swollen inventories on their hands as a hedge against inflation had to get some of their hoard off their hands at less than the peak prices in order to get the cash they began to need. This had a deflationary effect at both the retail and the wholesale level.

Many consumers, notably those in the higher-income brackets, did quite a bit of scare buying and hoarding themselves in the 1950-51 winter months. Now they were unwilling or unable to keep up their heavy spending. In the same way, retailers and wholesalers who had piled up huge inventories still had much of their goods on the shelves and in warehouses and were not in the market for more. Even many manufacturers who had bought up big stocks of raw materials and parts were buying less.

But the third and the most important reason was the consumer's pocketbook. Far too many consumers were simply priced out of the market. They simply could no longer afford the things they wanted and even the things they needed.

Note that while in 1951 there was quite a readjustment in many wholesale and commodity prices, *consumer prices did not go down*. In fact, the average worker was caught in a pinch. Food prices surged right on up, smashing all-time records. Thanks to Senator Capehart, who made price

control painless for manufacturers, and Congressman Herlong, who made it painless for distributors, the Office of Price Stabilization was forced to raise price ceilings on hundreds of thousands of items from drugs to plastics. These increases were made necessary by the requirements of the Capehart-Herlong amendments voted in the last session of Congress to provide for higher markups reflecting previously increased costs.

The gruesome joke about this Capehart formula was that, instead of price ceilings holding prices down, the formula caused many of the jacked-up Capehart ceilings to suck prices up. Even so, many of the prices displayed in stores were still considerably below the O.P.S. allowed ceilings.

Yet, along with food, furniture and building materials, retail prices of many commodities showed no signs of slippage, despite the cautious consumer buying and subnormal sales.



The automobile manufacturers, for example, got three price increases in 1951. But the higher their prices went, the fewer buyers would bid for new cars.

Unemployment in the Detroit area and a number of other localities presented a serious problem at the beginning of this winter. Some of this unemployment was no doubt due to the disregard of the available labor supply in the letting of defense contracts by the procurement agencies. It was aggravated by the manufacturers receiving defense contracts, who too often sought to shift this defense production away from established production centers to new plants and distant places in order to profit from the fat tax amortization allowances. In some cases it was just a plain "runaway shop," where employers hoped to make fatter profits by an attempt to employ non-union labor in new locations.

It is extremely doubtful, however,

that the main complaint of the auto makers, that they were not getting enough scarce metals and other defense-needed materials to keep up higher civilian output, had much validity. At the hiked-up prices at which the new cars were selling, if they could make more cars they would hardly be able to sell them.

So, at the end of 1951, we witnessed the strange picture of retail prices remaining high and many still creeping up while commodity and wholesale prices in many lines were slipping considerably below the previous highs. We saw the 1951 real wages (weekly earnings of manufacturing workers adjusted for changes in the cost of living) decline below the level they attained in 1950 and even farther below the wartime peak of 1944. And at the end of 1951 we heard much talk in the business community about the softness of the market, about consumer resistance and even some muttering about a possible recession in 1952.

Actually, the outlook for 1952 is for relative stability in the first half of the year, with increasing inflationary pressures in the second half.

During 1951 outlays for plant and equipment were more than \$30 billion. Industrial production was 10 per cent higher than in the previous year. Although production of automobiles, television sets and other consumer durable goods declined, this was made up in production increases in other goods. Residential building, which had been curtailed earlier in the year, leveled off toward the end.

Appraising the prospects for 1952, several factors, among many, seem to be of overshadowing importance:

(1) Much of the defense production already projected and prepared for will be getting into actual swing in 1952. Take machine tools, for example. They have been a serious bottleneck thus far. There was a sharp increase in machine tool output in the latter part of 1951. Machine tools in place in 1952 will make possible expanding defense output.

(2) Much of the defense expenditure provided for in 1951 will not actually be disbursed until sometime in 1952. With a good deal of the "tooling up" already done, the 1952 disbursements will flow faster, with the previously authorized 1951 disbursements swelling the stream.

(3) In some sectors of defense production the peak of projected defense orders will be reached in the second half of 1952. Some defense items—electronics, for example—will hit the peak earlier in the year. Others will not reach peak levels until later. In all, we can look for a healthy boost in the course of the year in the amount flowing from the government into the general money-stream.

(4) Critical shortages of scarce materials, such as copper, will curtail further production of many consumer durable items. The resulting scarcity of some products will serve to drive up their prices, regardless of such controls as we now have.

(5) Consumer savings reached an exceptionally high rate in the second half of 1951. They were then running at 10 per cent of the total disposable income. To be sure, those who did most of the saving were not in the lower income brackets. Yet the availability of these savings, whoever holds them, will be likely to add to the inflationary pressures in 1952.

These are all inflationary factors. There are others that tend to throw the balance in the opposite direction. But the deflationary elements are far less than enough to outweigh the coming pressures of inflation.

The total outlay of defense expenditures will not make up as large a proportion of the total income stream as many people think. This is true especially of such industries as textiles, already plagued by underemployment. Much of the defense money previously spent is for standby defense plants which will not be put to use unless we get into an all-out war.

Most important of all is the regressive effect of many of the policies which the Eighty-second Congress has served to intensify. If farmers continue to be immune to controls while workers are subject to them, if costs and the resulting prices are left virtually unchecked while wages are subject to severe stabilization rules, if a disproportionate tax burden continues to fall on the lower income groups, we cannot escape a further decline of real purchasing power of the workers. Our concern with

L.L.P.E.

these fundamental problems, however, immediate as it is, focuses on the long-term consequences of these inequalities and injustices to our economy. Their effect goes beyond 1952.

Our biggest problem of 1952 is to keep the dollar stable. Can we? It will not be easy. If, as we hope, a cease-fire is achieved in Korea, the task of getting effective legislation from the present session of Congress will become all the harder.

If in the first half of the year, the half during which Congress will be in session, strong inflationary pressure will not be noticeable, it will be even more difficult to get the necessary action in this Congress to cope with the inflationary forces that seem to be sure to come in the final six months of the year.

To keep the 1952 dollar from shrinking will call for firm and courageous Congressional action. Equality of sacrifice must be written into the defense production law. Provision of effective inflationary checks must be put into effect to replace the present parody on controls. Rents, which are ready for another sharp upward push, must be held in line.

Means must also be found to encourage savings. A more attractive defense bond, bearing a better rate of interest than the present 2.9 per cent, will go a long way toward encouraging saving instead of spending and toward building a reserve of savings to sustain our economy when peace is won.

If you want to keep your dollar intact in 1952, remember, you must make your wish known to your Congressman and Senators. And don't forget to remind them that on the stability of the American dollar depend not only your future, not only the future of America, but the future freedom and peace of the world.

William L. Hutcheson Retires From Carpenters' Presidency

ONE of America's foremost labor leaders, President William L. Hutcheson of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, has resigned from that high office, effective January 1, after having served his union with great skill and devotion for many years. Under his leadership the organization grew phenomenally, becoming one of the largest and strongest unions in the entire world.

The decision of Mr. Hutcheson to resign from the presidency of the Carpenters was made known by him on December 4 in a letter submitted to the union's General Executive Board. In this letter he said:

"Having served our Brotherhood for many years, I have come to the conclusion that it is advisable to step aside. Therefore I herewith submit my resignation as general president of our Brotherhood."

Brother Hutcheson also expressed his deep appreciation for the assistance and support given to him by the membership and his fellow officers.

First Vice-President M. A. Hutcheson, under the union's constitution, moves up to fill the vacancy until the Brotherhood's next convention.



MR. HUTCHESON

William L. Hutcheson was reelected as a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor at the San Francisco convention last September. He will continue to serve as a member of the A. F. of L.'s Executive Council.

Getting Them Registered

HERE'S THE WAY
CHICAGO DOES IT

THE big job of 1952 is to get out the votes. That is the only way to elect a Congress which will be responsive to the wishes of the vast majority of the American people—the plain people—instead of obeying the orders of the National Association of Manufacturers, the real estate lobby and all the other reactionary forces. But it is impossible to get out the votes unless the citizens are qualified to vote.

The *AFL News-Reporter*, the new weekly newspaper of the American Federation of Labor, in an article by Irwin Klass, Chicago labor journalist, tells how labor in the nation's second city has dealt with the registration problem.

Labor in Chicago rolled up its sleeves and went to work in methodical fashion after it was discovered, in one local union of 4,000 members, only 40 per cent—just 1,600—were registered and qualified to vote. A poor showing, indeed—and it was not at all unusual.

Drawing on the techniques used in ward politics, the Cook County League for the Registration of Trade Unionists launched the effort to get good union members to be full-fledged citizens, too. The Chicago Waiters Alliance provided the headquarters. There wasn't much money, writes Klass in the A. F. of L.'s newspaper, but volunteers pitched in to help the small staff.

Just how the job was done in Chicago may be seen from the pictures. The key to the effectiveness of the League's registration job was the all-out cooperation of local unions and their officers from beginning to end.

In ten weeks the League classified 180,000 cards by ward and precinct. Each card represented a union member. More than 50,000 union men and women were listed as not qualified to vote. The officers of their own local unions spoke to these unregistered members. By Election Day more than 80 per cent were registered.

This is what has to be done in every city in 1952. The plain people of America, the working people, crave victory, not defeat, next November. But victory won't come on a silver platter.

In order to win on Election Day, we have to be registered and eligible to vote. The Chicago technique is a good technique. It is simple and direct. And it works. Local branches of L.L.P.E. throughout the forty-eight states should use Chicago labor's result-producing registration method as a model of efficient procedure.



Unions send in their membership lists, and worker types an individual card for each member whose name is on list



From master key books at Board of Election Commissioners, the ward and precinct of each union member is determined



Next step is stamping code number designating union on card. This is to facilitate the job of tracing unregistered members



Then the cards are broken down geographically—by sections of the city. Separation according to street locations comes next



Cards of registered voters are separated by ward and precinct. Into another category go cards of unregistered union members



"Not Registered" lists are prepared and sent to local unions. Officers then talk to listed members and urge them to register

HOUSING SNAFU

By HARRY C. BATES

Chairman, A. F. of L. Housing Committee

HERE is a national scandal which has gone uninvestigated and practically unnoticed. One sentence tells the shameful story. Even though the government relaxed credit controls (Regulation X) in defense areas, speculative builders had completed a grand total of 189 houses for defense workers and military personnel in critical defense areas by mid-December. Think of it—one and a half years after the outbreak of the Korean war, only 189 defense houses have been built!

Yet a high level of housing construction has been maintained during this entire period. Since June, 1950, about 1,700,000 houses have been built in this country, but most of them have been in the high-price, high-rent brackets that most families cannot afford. To pleas for housing programs to provide decent homes for defense workers and low-income families, real estate interests, Congress and even government housing officials have seemingly had just one answer—business as usual.

Of course, nobody would dare to advocate openly business as usual during a defense emergency. This is as true of those connected with the home-building industry as any other economic group. In fact, the speculative builders have staunchly maintained that they could do the entire defense housing job. But high-sounding words do not build houses. The fact is that in the defense housing administration up to now we have seen only confusion, delay, inaction and appeasement of selfish interests.

No legitimate excuse can be advanced for this bland disregard of the housing needs of the American people in the face of the critical emergency which the nation faces. Two world wars provided ample experience to indicate the kind of housing requirements that would have to be met.

In the first place, as the A. F. of L. warned as soon as the Korean war began, there was bound to be a particularly urgent need for housing for



MR. BATES

workers moving into expanding defense areas. Secondly, it was to be expected that defense restrictions would limit the manpower and materials which would be available to the home-building industry. This limitation on construction of new houses made it all the more important that whatever new houses were built should be used first to provide homes for defense workers, and second, to meet the needs of other families living under intolerable housing conditions.

The preliminary results of the 1950 census of housing (taken along with the government's regular ten-year census) have confirmed what the A. F. of L. has been saying for a long time. There are still millions of families in this country whose living conditions do not begin to measure up to recognized American standards. They live in ramshackle hovels, in contaminated, disease-ridden slum tenements and in rural shacks. Most of these families are deprived of even rudimentary plumbing and sanitary facilities.

Here are some of the figures revealed by the housing census:

In 1950 more than one-fourth of the 35,000,000 non-farm homes were

either dilapidated or, if not dilapidated, lacked one or more essential sanitary facilities. Two and a half million of these homes were dilapidated, 4,000,000, although not dilapidated, were without private toilet or bath, and 2,500,000 even lacked piped running water.

Even these figures do not tell the whole story. The census also found that families in about 2,000,000 homes were living in overcrowded conditions—that is, there were more than three people living in every two rooms.

Despite a relatively large volume of construction in the postwar years, there were very few vacant dwellings available at the time the census was taken. In the entire country there were only 700,000 non-dilapidated vacant houses. Of these, 133,000 lacked private toilets and baths. The small number of vacancies emphasizes the critical housing shortage which faced the country at the outbreak of the Korean war.

One other important fact which the census revealed is that there was very little improvement in the quality of American homes from 1940 to 1950 despite the fact that a relatively large number of houses were built during that period. The census shows that there were just about as many homes in 1950 as in 1940 without minimum plumbing facilities and that the amount of overcrowding had not diminished. While no exact national figures are available for comparison purposes, there is evidence that the number of dilapidated homes has not decreased either.

This, then, was the condition of our housing supply in the spring of 1950, just before Korea. Certainly there could have been no doubt in anybody's mind that the primary job of America's housing industry was to provide decent homes for these millions of families forced to live in sub-standard housing.

With the stepping up of defense activities, there was added the even more essential job of making sure

that adequate homes were available for workers in expanding defense centers.

In the face of this, what has been the record? Let us take a look at defense housing first.

As early as August, 1950, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. called attention to the fact that a substantial amount of new housing facilities would be necessary in the areas in which workers would be flocking to defense plants and reactivated military installations. It was clear that unless workers in those areas could be sure of decent housing, they would be the victims of an unconscionable injustice. Moreover, the recruiting of workers for defense jobs would be all but impossible unless they could be assured of decent living conditions if they moved into the expanding areas. These warnings were sounded again and again in official statements by A. F. of L. spokesmen, but they went unheeded.

A so-called defense housing bill was introduced in both houses of Congress in the early months of 1951. The bill placed primary reliance on a program of special aids for private builders of sales and rental housing in defense areas. The A. F. of L. called attention to the fact that the expected monthly housing cost which occupants of these houses would have to pay would range from \$85 to \$110 a month, far more than most defense workers could afford.

Although there was provision in the bill for publicly financed construction of needed defense housing where private builders would not or could not build it, the authorization of funds was so small as to permit construction of only about 5,000 such units for the entire country.

This bill, with the high-sounding title of "Defense Housing and Community Facilities Act of 1951," was finally passed without substantial change in the late summer of 1951. It has thus far resulted in practically no defense housing, and it seems clear that the houses which may eventually be built by speculative builders, aided by the substantial inducements provided for in the act, will in most cases involve far too great a cost for most defense workers' families to bear. Yet Congressional appropriations for publicly financed defense housing at moderate rentals will permit construction of only about 3,000 units, less even

than the amount authorized in the act.

This failure to attack the defense housing problem realistically has been at heavy cost to essential defense activities. Reports from all over the country indicate that thousands of workers who have moved into defense centers have been unable to find decent places for themselves and their families to live. The result is that many of them have been forced to return to the places from which they came. This has complicated the already difficult problem of recruiting a sufficient number of workers to man defense plants and military installations. It is a situation which, if permitted to continue, will have severe consequences for the entire defense program.

This situation cannot be permitted to continue. If private builders cannot or will not build for defense workers enough houses they can afford, the government must shoulder the responsibility. This means that Congress must appropriate adequate funds to permit construction of publicly financed defense housing at moderate rentals wherever and whenever it is needed.

This is the only way that defense workers and their families can be assured of decent living conditions. Unless this is done—and done soon—the entire defense program may be severely crippled.

The record on housing for families now living under substandard conditions is just as poor. In 1949, Con-

gress authorized a low-rent public housing program of 135,000 units a year to permit low-income families to move from unhealthful slums into decent homes. This represented an outstanding victory for the A. F. of L. in its fight for better housing for every group in America. But this program, largely as a result of sabotage by the real estate interests and their spokesmen in Congress, has been proceeding at a snail's pace.

In the last session of Congress an attempt was made, which almost succeeded, to kill the entire low-rent public housing program, and an actual limitation was placed on the program of 50,000 units a year. This cannot begin to meet the housing needs of low-income families who look to the public housing program as the only means of obtaining a decent place for them to bring up their children.

For a number of years the Federation has also been calling attention to the fact that there are many families in the middle-income brackets, especially workers' families, who cannot afford to pay the high rents and selling prices demanded by private speculative builders and are ineligible for admission to the low-rent public housing projects. The A. F. of L. therefore supported a program which would provide low-cost, long-term loans to cooperatives and other non-profit groups to provide housing within the means of these middle-income families.

This pro- (Continued on Page 29)



Hardly any housing is being built for those who need it the most

Taxes Cut Living Standards

By MATTHEW WOLL

IT IS estimated that federal tax revenues will be in excess of \$63 billion during fiscal year 1952. When local and state tax collections are added to this sum, the tax bill will total at least \$80 billion, a figure exceeding tax collections in any previous year, even in time of war, by billions of dollars.

Critics of government spending are continually quoted as viewing these enormous tax collections with alarm. They challenge the need for mounting costs of government.

While the American Federation of Labor does not in any sense condone extravagance or waste in government, it has consistently taken the position that taxpayers who, through their representatives in Congress, decide that certain services are necessary should be prepared to pay for these services through taxation.

From 1945 until the Communist invasion of Korea in June, 1950, the majority in Congress approved a series of tax measures which cut federal revenue by billions of dollars yearly. The American Federation of Labor opposed these reductions. We believed they were excessive and poorly timed and provided major tax relief to those income groups which least needed such relief.

In 1952 we continue to believe that, if it is a question of choosing between additional taxation and an unbalanced budget which will contribute to further inflation, ways of raising additional tax revenue should be found.

Current revenue as well as needed additional revenue could and should be secured in greater proportion from taxpayers on the basis of the ability to pay. Tax developments during the past twelve years have not been based sufficiently on considerations of equity or sound economy. Certainly there are many indications that the tax pro-

grams at federal, state and local levels have been fashioned with little reference to the "equality of sacrifice" principle.

Newspaper editors and radio commentators appear to be most concerned about the heavy tax burden borne by those in the middle and upper income groups. Apparently they fail to realize that the income tax, combined with increasingly regressive state and local taxes, constitutes a much heavier burden to those in the lower income groups because it cuts so sharply into basic living standards. This is a fact that should be more generally recognized by all taxpayers.

When the Wage and Hour Law was enacted in 1938, the minimum hourly rate of 40 cents which it established was not considered adequate. However, it did mean wage increases to several million workers and undoubtedly was a factor in forcing up wages of several million other workers not covered by the federal law. Under the income tax law then in effect there

was a \$1000 exemption for a single worker and a \$2500 exemption for a husband and wife. The \$832 annual income of a worker employed at the minimum wage of 40 cents an hour was therefore not touched by the federal income tax.

In 1952 the minimum of 40 cents an hour has been increased to a minimum of 75 cents an hour. This means that a worker employed at the minimum for a full year on a 40-hour week can earn \$1560. A single worker, so employed, under the 1951 tax law will pay \$160 in income tax, leaving a net income of \$1400. However, since the 1951 dollar is worth 52.7 cents (as of December, 1951) in terms of purchasing power of the dollar of the late Thirties, that \$1400 income shrinks to \$738, or \$94 less than the same worker had with the 40-cent hourly minimum in 1938, 1939 or 1940.

This does not take into account federal excise taxes and local and state taxes, which more than doubled from 1939 to 1951. State and local taxes increased from a total of approximately \$8 billion in 1939 to \$17 billion in 1951. Recent studies show that the impact of such taxes is heavier on those in the lower income groups than on those receiving higher incomes.

When at year's end Secretary of Commerce Sawyer estimated annual personal savings for 1951 at \$19 billion, one may be sure that the great bulk of those billions was put away by the 40 per cent of income recipients in the brackets above \$3200. The statistics for 1949 showed that the 40 per cent in the income groups below \$2290 had negative savings—that is, they went heavily into debt—while the 20 per cent in the income group from \$2290 to \$3200 had very slight savings.

Since taxes and living costs have (Continued on Page 25)



Carl Stanwitz
"I'm glad you get paid every two weeks. One week's wages is so insufficient these days!"

Uncle Sam Should Do It, Too

By WILLIAM C. DOHERTY

President, National Association of Letter Carriers

GOVERNMENT has given a helping hand to labor-management committees in private industry, but for the most part it has not applied the lessons thus derived to its own household. As a result of this failure to follow its own leadership, management and labor, as well as the public interest, have suffered.

The same things accomplished for private industry through labor-management councils can be done for government. Progressive management in the commercial world long ago realized that complex relationships among the various levels of management and labor were quickly settled across a conference table. Government at times seems unaware or reluctant to admit that teamwork pays dividends. Yet, paradoxically, it encourages and even insists on teamwork between labor and management outside government.

Employees in the federal structure have obligations and duties, as well as interests and claims, in no less a degree than workers in private industry. It has been demonstrated in private industry that policies are more readily assimilated and followed by employees when they understand them and after they have had an opportunity to eliminate potential grievances. The same should hold true for government work.

Under the system now in vogue in most federal agencies, adjustment of grievances—real or fancied—is attempted only after the fact. A real labor-management program would insure a positive approach by eliminating potential friction.

Congress has the opportunity to



MR. DOHERTY

institute a labor-management program in government. The instrumentality is in the enactment of H.R. 554 or H.R. 571, a bill to recognize the federal employees' organizations.



Government toilers feel their employer should do as he preaches

As envisaged by the sponsors, Congressmen George M. Rhodes of Pennsylvania and Gardner R. Withrow of Wisconsin, the bills would permit employe representatives to "present grievances in behalf of their members without restraint, coercion, interfer-

ence, intimidation or reprisal." It would also assure employe consultation and participation when policy changes are contemplated that affect working conditions. Finally, the bill would permit lawful organization activity without interference or reprisal from management.

There is nothing radical or even new in the thought behind the proposal. Except that it would obligate department and agency heads to follow methods and procedures already adopted with outstanding success by private industry. Admittedly that would be quite an effort in some federal agencies. The Postoffice Department, for example, probably would rather cave in at its foundations than admit that cooperation, not antagonism, is the key to good service, low operating costs and high employe morale.

As a matter of fact, the Postoffice Department would be the ideal agency to use as a test tube for the program contemplated in H.R. 554. With considerable justification, the postal service under the present administration has been accused of being "the least efficiently operated department in the entire government." More than 900 pages of detailed instructions go to make up a maze of outmoded laws, regulations and traditions. Prior to the April 17, 1950, curtailment of postal service, the Hoover

Commission summed up the philosophy of postal management as "sluggish, irresolute and wasteful, rather than imaginative, decisive and cost-conscious." That damaging indictment has been compounded in all its implications (Continued on Page 29)

WE MUST FIGHT BACK

By JOHN EKLUND

President, American Federation of Teachers

"I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

AFTER three full years of general and specific attacks on public education, three facts begin to stand out. First, an atmosphere of hysteria has been created by certain groups, both nationally and locally. Second, tax control groups are using the ensuing distrust to cut financial support of school programs. Third, some of the criticisms leveled at the schools may be justified, but the remedies for any weaknesses that may exist in modern education should be worked out by friends of the public schools, not by enemies.

The hysteria created by some of the groups attacking the public schools has been well described in numerous recent publications. It has been established that in some American communities large sums have been spent to promote the vilification of school people and school programs.

The groups which are attacking the public schools disseminate material that is not factual. Their program is to deceive and overwhelm parents by glossy advertising techniques and then, after the public schools have been weakened by their attacks, seize control and eliminate all modern educational methods and practices designed to meet the needs of the individual child and of the democratic community.

The American labor movement has a tremendous stake in the American public schools. When the operation of the public schools is attacked, when

such irresponsible and self-seeking interests attempt to destroy their function, it is time for labor to come out fighting.

In the face of the constant barrages laid down against our public schools, labor should alert itself as to why such attacks are being leveled.

Labor knows that more than 90 per cent of the children walking through the doors of our public schools are the children of wage-earners. There are also other reasons why labor is and always has been keenly interested in the public schools.

Between 1828 and 1834—the period when the first public schools were being born in Massachusetts and Rhode Island—the first moves were being made toward a national labor movement. Without exception, these movements included as a major part of their program the concept of "free and equal public education."

The first convention of the American Federation of Labor, seventy years ago, declared:

"We are in favor of such legislation as will enforce by compulsion the education of children."

Since 1881 every major public school advancement that has occurred had its genesis in the platforms of the American Federation of Labor. The Federation has always seen that the achievement of social and economic reform must rest upon education of the people as a whole. Labor has fought a battle for decades to give the public schools the freedom and the means to do their job.

As labor has fought for better working conditions, higher wages and security, so have the public schools sought to teach our young people to reason and to know.

The attacks on the public schools are not unprecedented. The difference today is simply that they have

become bolder and louder than before.

Let us identify the groups which are attempting to cut down our public schools. In a recent issue *The Nation's Schools* identifies nine groups, among which are the "National Council for American Education," "Friends of the Public Schools of America" and "Guardians of American education." Then there are the groups which are always with us, such as the "Taxpayers' Protective Leagues" and "Economy Councils." These seek constantly to reduce public services of any kind—and the schools do cost money. In addition, one finds various local groups, informally gotten together, which are unhappy with some phases of the school program.

To meet the persistent threats of these groups, many communities have set out to build representative and responsible citizens' committees. Where such committees have been formed, and where they really represent a popular cross-section, they have been bulwarks against the attacks of the special interests.

Let us here note just what the attacks have been. Almost all the attacking forces today are accusing the public schools of teaching "socialism," socialism frequently being identified as "progressive education." The accusers further aver that the fundamentals, the three R's, are being neglected. Another charge is that vast sums of money are being wasted on "frills." Also, say the attacking groups, the schools exert little control over youngsters and discipline is fading.

These charges are false. To understand the reason behind these attacks and just how phony these accusations are, one must look first to the traditional program of the schools. Until the advent of John Dewey and the

development of a truly democratic philosophy in education, much of the public schools' program was based on three social concepts: (1) that there was a privileged class to whom special concessions and benefits should go; (2) that the aggrandizement of big business and monopoly was synonymous with free enterprise, and (3) that property rights were top priority in society, frequently to the disadvantage of human rights.

Eventually these concepts and the schools in which they prevailed were weighed and found wanting. These concepts did not prepare the youth of our country to be the free citizens which under our Constitution they were entitled to be.

The Horatio Alger approach, the sacredness of money power, the Pollyannish solution to the insistent social and economic demands of the Twentieth Century began to lose out. Realism in education came forward.

The public schools underwent and are continuing to undergo a reorientation. Very simply, the best in education today recognizes the rights and dignity of every person. It recognizes that freedom of enterprise is lost when competition goes. And it is fully aware that each must be taught to face up to the problems confronting us as a nation.

The record is full of persistent attacks made on the schools and on teachers because they sought to establish the verities in the preceding paragraph. In New Orleans a teacher was accused of "teaching communism" because of a review of the outmoded method by which the President is elected. In a Western city a teacher was fired because the British medical services plan was given some attention in her classes. The firing was by the administration, but the pressures came from without. A third teacher, speaking recently in Detroit, was attacked by the press. The speaker's relations with progressive educational programs were labeled subversive and dangerous.

These attacks on public education are of prime danger—but only because the schools give in to the highly organized groups which with singleness of purpose take pot-shots at the schools and the teachers as they move with the evolving democratic processes so fundamental to the rights and privileges of workers.

The groups which are assailing the

public schools want a return to the days of special privilege for the few, unorganized, timid and cheap labor, the supremacy of property rights. They want a constricted social and economic system. And they view the schools as the first target if they are to achieve their program.

How do we know these things? What is the evidence that can substantiate such an accusation? The evidence is in what the attacking forces try to do to school curricula, to teachers, to programs and to educational philosophy.

In every recent onslaught one of the first demands has been that the schools return to the teaching of "fundamentals." It seems not to matter that the fundamentals are being taught increasingly well—that study after study reveals that when fundamentals are related to experience they become meaningful in a functional way. The old methods of rote and drill are cheaper, and there is no danger then that arithmetic is being related to the price of meat or an hourly wage rate.

In 1949 the public schools of Denver, Colorado, made a complete evaluation of the progress of Denver youngsters in a quite progressive educational process. The tests revealed that, in a vast majority of instances, progress was far ahead of national norms. Did that stay the attack? Oh, no! And today the Denver schools have returned to a much more highly regimented curriculum. It is not amazing that the same school administration which weakly gave ground to the reactionary pressure forces although it had proof of a competent program has recently banned nineteen Public Affairs pamphlets, many of them dealing with social, economic and political problems of our day.

The drive against our schools in 1952 is like the drives of the Thirties that banned the Rugg textbook, the first social science book to deal with modern technology and the attendant socio-economic problems. It is the same kind of drive that banned the "Building America" series in California—books dealing with the problems of unemployment, organized labor and working conditions.

The attacks on the schools, it is obvious, seek to put out of bounds the consideration of certain fundamental subjects. Those attacking the schools would block an understanding of an

economic democracy that seeks to utilize the resources of the nation for the benefit of all the people, seeks to make health, welfare and security benefits available and seeks to balance the power of wealth by the collective action of the workers themselves. The enemies of the public schools want to impose a straitjacket on the schools. To do this, the cry of "socialism" is raised, communities are inundated with lies or half-truths and the schools run for cover.

That the attacks on public education are made by these highly concentrated and well-supported groups is not surprising. The shocking thing is that the schools buckle under and sell their birthright.

IF IN your town the attacks have come and there has been "a return to fundamentals" or book banning or teacher firings, it would be well to take a good look at what is actually happening and what groups are causing it to happen. It has taken a long time to open the public schools even a little to the cause of human dignity, to the social significance of democracy, to the fundamental right of workers to band together and to the American stake in the world.

The public schools have been tending to grow up to democracy as we live it—to the reality of a strong labor movement, to the solution of social and economic problems. But this forward movement will stop if these attacking groups have their way.

While the American Federation of Labor has defined and fought for every one of the expanding services of the American public schools over the years, reactionary attacking forces—such as those now so active have fought against them. When unsuccessful, they have returned to the battle time and again, striving at all times to discredit and suppress.

The motives of these hostile groups are to reduce the average American to serfdom, to enslave the workers again, to discredit progress.

If the ultimate powers of democracy are to be left to the people themselves, as they should be, labor and education must fight back.

Join **LLPE**

EDITORIALS *by William Green*

Labor's Responsibility

OUR DEMOCRATIC and free way of life gives greater freedom and makes proportionately greater demands for responsibility on individual citizens. Our Constitution assures every citizen opportunity to make basic decisions in his own life—freedom of worship, of speech, assemblage and the right to petition. Should these opportunities be denied to any person, that person has the duty to protest and get assistance in having the wrong righted.

Long ago Junius wrote that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. If some citizens acquiesce in denial of their rights, that practice might easily become general and the rights cease to exist. Not only must rights be freely available to all, but they must be in active and regular use. Basic individual rights are provided in the first ten amendments to the Constitution.

Rights entail responsibility for wise use of freedom. Free citizens develop appreciation of the effects of the use of their rights on the rights of other people, for the majority must agree on the maintenance of rights. This consciousness of moral responsibility is the overriding control in all free and self-directed living. Morals are indispensable to civilization. When these practices become habitual, then citizens follow a way of life that squares with ethical and moral standards. This means conformity to ideals of integrity and moral soundness that makes for healthy, vigorous collective policies and action.

We in trade unions have been most effective in urging and aiding workers to demand and use their rights. We have urged use of our rights in such ways as would respect the rights of others. It is important that we revive and revitalize these policies at this time when the new Russian imperialism has declared war upon all that we hold dear.

We should not fear the outcome of any sort of contest with the Communists, for our way of life and our institutions have proven our superiority for the task. We have a greater technical knowledge and ability to produce and, most important, we have moral and spiritual power evolved from the responsibility of deciding our lives and using rights without impairing the rights of others.

Every nation is invincible so long as it maintains strong and effective sources of moral and spiritual vigor. We can go about our business of dealing with tyrants who want power over other people and of purging our government of dishonest and disloyal public servants who waste national wealth and make public office a special privilege to enrich themselves and their retainers. It is the duty of all good citizens to see to it that all those who undermine and dishonor free institutions are pun-

ished and removed from office as the first step in mobilizing moral strength for the important duties before us.

The rank and file of our citizens are morally sound, so it is doubly important that they vigilantly review the work of their representatives. All government should be kept within such a scope that review is readily possible. On the pages of history we read the epitaph of nations: "They did not appreciate their liberty until they lost it." Let us keep close watch on the economic and political fields so that free institutions shall not be unduly restricted.

American Unions

THE AMERICAN labor movement has been highly successful in securing directly for its members and indirectly for all workers high rates of wages and shorter hours of work, pay for holidays, seniority provisions and machinery for dealing with grievances. Important as are these material gains, even more important has been our achievement in developing a stalwart, resourceful and responsible trade union movement that can be relied on for both normal and emergency work service.

Our wage-earners are not servile-minded but are conscious of their rights and privileges as citizens. They honor and perform their respective functions without any sense of inferiority but with appreciation of the fact that all functions are necessary for service to the nation's economy. American workers are free individuals who realize that work is an opportunity to earn an income that makes them financially independent. But the driving force actuating American labor is desire for freedom in living—the will to accept responsibility for making decisions which determine the rest of life and with the integrity to abide by the results.

Such a philosophy requires appropriate free private institutions and a government which respects the right of citizens to decide matters of personal living. No weaklings formulated the policies and procedures of the American labor movement. They asked primarily for equal opportunity, a suitable job at which to work and fair compensation for work done. Such an environment fosters resourcefulness and responsibility in production. The worker, the company and the community all benefit thereby. The workers' experiences root them firmly in American principles.

American workers, believing that individual liberty is indispensable to order and dignity in living, feel a responsibility for helping all other workers to enjoy the same rights wherever they may live. So we have done what we could to aid and rescue the victims of the reactionary despotism which the Communists have imposed

on other nations as well as to strengthen the workers of other countries to defend their rights and freedom.

We realize fully that we can only provide for others opportunity for freedom and that they themselves must accept responsibility for using their rights to exercise freedom. The free way of life is one of individual and continuous responsibility which requires will and vision.

Our nation has a national institution of priceless value in the kind of labor movement that American workers have constructed and maintained.

Inflation

OUR ECONOMY is called upon to carry an exceptionally heavy load in converting to defense and expanding production facilities so as to continue to supply civilian needs also. The size of our load is indicated in our huge national budget.

When so large an amount is taken from productive purposes for government uses, financial relationships are strained and inflation becomes a major danger. Even the greatest skill in dealing with economic problems of defense or great valor on battlefields will not assure victory unless our government learns to deal with the causes of inflation which stem from financial policies. Cheap money is very expensive, as we know from our 53-cent dollar and resulting higher prices.

Even when defense production was a small percentage, Congress provided for wages, price and credit controls either by private economic agencies or by the government. Consumer credit has been definitely restricted by stiffer provisions for repayments and the Federal Reserve System has tightened bank credit.

Price control follows a most flexible formula which can be made to compensate employers for practically all increases in production costs with a rough guarantee of profits.

Wages have been tied to the consumers' price index, with a few allowances to make for greater flexibility, but already there is manifest a desire for control for regimentation purposes in the Wage Stabilization Board's desire to regulate welfare provisions in union agreements. These agreements provide for payments in emergencies that interfere with work and for the most part have no bearing on inflation. Such an approach destroys good faith and contributes to cynicism.

Escalator provisions are a defensive device, not a curative one. Wage and price controls can only temporarily hold levels until sound financial policies become effective. As we move toward the second quarter of 1952, when the budget will be unbalanced, it is doubly important that interest rates shall be a curb on inflationary borrowing. Sound money is essential to all our undertakings.

A number of countries have lessened shrinkage in the value of their money by raising interest rates. In the period between 1939 and June, 1951, Swiss money value has dropped at least 39½ per cent; South Africa, 46.6 per cent; Sweden, 43.7 per cent; Canada, 45.4 per cent; while the United States was fifth with a shrinkage of 46.1 per cent, which increased to 47 per cent by October 1. In those countries where sound monetary and fiscal policies prevail, wages and prices are not controlled.

Our dollar now has a buying value of 53 cents. The

inflation of World War II has never been eliminated.

Decline in money value creates many injustices in contracts between peoples and nations. If savings are invested in \$1000 government bonds, the bonds must be paid in dollars worth even less than 53 cents. A free economy adjusts to take care of this type of problem by investors demanding higher interest rates. We are now keeping the interest rate on bonds at low rates so as to lighten the burden on taxpayers, but, in doing so, we have helped to shrink the buying value of our incomes.

When our defense legislation is reviewed in the new session of Congress, provisions that make for unnecessary political controls should be eliminated and more responsibility placed on economic organizations of management and workers, so that in the defense period ahead, which may be prolonged, our free economy shall be strengthened.

We should learn to carry provisions for adequate preparedness in support of our foreign policy as a part of our normal burdens and thus avoid recurring danger of central emergency control of our economy.

Military preparedness is an essential basis for effective foreign policy as well as a deterrent to aggression. Peace with demobilization is possible only between men of goodwill. Constructive diplomacy must be backed by the ability to see it through. Force is still necessary to keep in line less disciplined or more aggressive groups and nations. Proposals to block aggression must be accompanied by the ability to assure compliance.

So in the immediate future adequate armament should be a continuing policy and should be planned and administered with the wisest economy.

Defense Planning

FOR THE FIRST and second quarters of 1952, the Defense Administration has allocated larger percentages of scarce materials to military production. This decision almost automatically reduces the amounts available for civilian production and therefore may mean changes in employment for many workers.

In addition to control over steel, aluminum and copper by our government, the International Materials Conference was organized to control the world supply and the prices of essential materials short in world supply for both civilian and military needs. The commodities controlled by the international organization include iron, sulphur, wood, copper, aluminum, lead, zinc, manganese, tungsten and molybdenum.

In our own country we have to expand production of steel and aluminum so as to create a supply adequate for high level civilian as well as military production. Limited sources of supply prevent much increase in the output of copper, so substitutes must be found.

Our industries agreed that possible increases in production of commodities was an important step in inflation control. Two other considerations have not yet received adequate attention—prudent conservation of national resources and consideration for the requirements of our allies for defense of the free world. Through the International Commodities Committee, we are already finding that many delays in European rearmament are due to inability to get supplies. We need to work out better balanced worldwide use of materials.



MR. BROWN

Report on GERMANY

By HARVEY W. BROWN

The author is former president of the International Association of Machinists. Until recently he was director of the Office of Labor Affairs, Office of U.S. High Commissioner for Germany.

THE major part of the German trade union movement during the pre-Hitler era had a definite Socialist orientation. Smaller Catholic and Protestant trade union organizations operated parallel to this large Socialist movement. At that time the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist trade unions were very closely affiliated.

As soon as the German labor movement had a chance to reorganize when the Nazi regime collapsed, most of the union leaders came to the conclusion that the time was ripe for a unified trade union movement without denominational or political distinction. Some of the active members even were hoping that this trade union movement might become the pivot around which a new political party would be organized which the trade union movement could support.

The post-Hitler trade union movement tried for a long time to find new ideals and concepts around which the masses of the German workers could rally. It was agreed that "co-determination" could become the heart of the program of the new labor movement.

In the past German labor relied heavily on legislative support for its social and economic aims. The unions of today, however, feel that reliance on legislation is not adequate. They want to exert more direct influence in the affairs of the companies.

After the war ended, the German unions considered it futile to strike for higher wages. They were of the opinion that this would create an in-

flationary spiral, which would mean that labor would be without any benefits from its wage increases.

Hans Boeckler, late president of the German Trade Union Federation, pointed out that organized workers in West Germany were thinking not only of their own interests in this connection but were also considering the 12,000,000 Germans who depend for survival on unemployment payments, public relief and small pensions for industrial or war disability and for old age. These people are living on pathetically small incomes; the mildest form of inflation would be a catastrophe for them.

In order to safeguard and stabilize adequate wage rates, the trade unions in West Germany feel that they need some influence in controlling prices as well as wages. Co-determination is the instrument they want to use. Union officials believe that eventually fair wages can be established, after they become acquainted with the companies' gross earnings, rates of profit, plant operations, bookkeeping methods, possible hidden profits, fictitious values, etc.

There is another reason why the German labor leaders are concerned so deeply about co-determination. They point out that major German industrialists, especially certain industrialists of the Ruhr, were twice closely allied with the politicians whose activities led directly to war. In the opinion of German labor, co-determination is one way of prevent-

ing German industrialists from engaging in such activities in the future. Leaders of labor say:

"We want to save the plain people from being sold down the river a third time."

When the concept of co-determination began to crystallize and the trade unions presented their program to the public for the first time, it was greeted with approval by most of the political parties. The employers' organizations endorsed the principle of co-determination. It should be noted in this connection that, in 1945 and 1946, Germans in every walk of life believed that a new social and economic system was due in Germany and that new forms of ownership were necessary. At that time there were many who believed that coal, steel and other basic industries should be nationalized.

As time moved on, however, a number of business leaders became less tolerant of reforms and proceeded to advocate doing business in the same old way. The Christian Democratic Union tried to inject more conservative concepts into political thinking on this matter, although the left wing of that party vigorously protested this trend.

After co-determination had been endorsed in general terms, the various parties and the employers' associations came out with their own versions. These were a far cry from what the unions had originally proposed and which they believed the political

parties intended when the politicians were campaigning for votes in the 1949 federal elections.

Under the impact of public opinion and confronted with the need for getting full-hearted support from labor in stepping up German steel production, the British occupational government during 1946 established co-determination in certain sections of the steel industry very much along the lines of the union proposal.

Several state parliaments, where labor had majorities or a strong influence, adopted laws establishing co-determination in one form or another. General Lucius Clay, then the U.S. military governor, suspended the operation of portions of these laws in Wuerttemberg-Baden and Hesse, saying that the matter of jurisdiction could not be settled before the adoption of the basic law.

If settled so as to give the federal government any jurisdiction, General Clay said, the federal government should be given an opportunity to reach a decision on so fundamental a problem.

Soon after John P. McCloy became U.S. high commissioner for Germany and the matter of jurisdiction had been settled so as to give the federal government concurrent jurisdiction, he urged the federal government to act in order to clarify the situation. The federal government, however, left it up to the employers and the unions to reach an agreement. Despite lengthy negotiations, such an agreement could not be reached.

After advising the federal authorities that he did not feel justified in indefinitely extending the period in which the federal government could act and after giving the federal authorities further time within which to act, the U.S. high commissioner ordered removal of the suspension on the Wuerttemberg-Baden and Hesse laws.

A few months later the employers and the unions sat down again for negotiations. This conference appeared to be more successful on most points.

A few days later, however, it became publicly known that the employers' associations did not go along. A new deadlock ensued. This deadlock lasted for months.

The Metal Workers Union initiated a referendum among its members working in the steel-producing industry, principally in the Ruhr. Ninety-six per cent of this union's members



Ruhr miner and family. He and other toilers back co-determination

who were affected voted to strike if the federal government did not create legislation to safeguard the co-determination policy then in effect in the Ruhr.

A few weeks later the mine workers held a referendum demanding the same type of co-determination rights which the steel workers had been enjoying for some time.

It was clear that the unions definitely meant business, and the strike reserves of the sixteen industrial un-

ions plus the funds of the German Trade Union Federation were pooled into a major strike fund for the steel and mine workers. Negotiations were opened a few weeks prior to the deadline, and the employers as well as the federal government made it clear that they were not willing to accede to the unions' demands.

It soon became evident that no agreement could be reached. Mr. McCloy issued a statement that the U. S. would follow a policy of strict neutral-

Reds want to control Germany. Here a Commie woos group of girls



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ity and would not take any action which would prejudice the case for or against co-determination, since this was viewed as strictly a local German matter.

Chancellor Adenauer then used every means within his power to persuade the employers to come to terms with the unions. Within a few days agreement was reached and developed in detail. The employers and the unions requested the Parliament of Western Germany to use the agreement as the basis of a federal law.

The N.A.M. issued a statement warning that co-determination would discourage the flow of private capital to German industry. Similar statements came from employer organizations in a number of European countries.

After some debate in the West German Parliament, the co-determination law was finally adopted.

In the coal and steel industries the employes henceforth are to nominate 50 per cent of the members of boards of directors of the different companies, each board normally consisting of ten members.

On the workers' side two of the board members are to be designated by the trade unions in consultation with the works council, and the other two are to be elected by the works council after consultation with the trade unions. In the event the unions object to a works council nomination and the works council by majority vote reaffirms its nomination, the Federal Labor Minister may make the final decision. As fifth member on the workers' side of the board the unions will designate a representative of the public interest who enjoys their confidence.

On the employers' side of the board, the five members will be elected by the stockholders in accordance with the company statutes or the articles of association.

The ten members of the board thus selected will by simple majority, with at least three members of each of the two groups approving, select the eleventh member. If no agreement can be reached, the ten members will designate a mediation committee of four members, consisting of two representatives of each of the two groups. The committee will propose three nominees to the stockholders who will elect the additional member.

If all nominees are rejected by the stockholders, the reasons for such rejections are submitted to a court of appeals. Should the court uphold the rejections, the mediation committee may submit three more nominees to the stockholders. If these persons are also ruled out as being unsatisfactory, the court of appeals must again rule on the validity of the objections. If the court rules the second set of nominations to have been justifiably rejected, then the stockholders

are free to elect the eleventh member of the board. They may also directly elect the member if the mediation committee fails to submit a second set of nominations.

The terms of co-determination provide that each plant shall have a personnel director. Most German companies do not have such a managerial setup. The personnel director shall be appointed by the board of directors and such appointment shall have the approval of more than half of the labor members of the board. Plants operating without a board of directors must create such boards in conformity with the law governing corporations.

Passing of this bill and establishing co-determination in the coal and steel industries undoubtedly are great victories for the German unions. The pattern for the steel and coal industries is being studied by other industries.

Co-determination may contain danger spots after the unions find themselves on both sides of the negotiation table, and especially if the workers on boards of directors should subconsciously tend to overemphasize plant interests as distinguished from the general interests of the workers.

However, there can be no doubt that the German unions will be able to safeguard their contracts and other agreements much better than they were able to do heretofore.

Arbitrary Firings Are Verboten

WORKERS in Western Germany are now protected against arbitrary dismissals. The West German Parliament has recently passed a law which provides a shield against arbitrary individual dismissals and calls for delaying action in cases of contemplated mass layoffs. "Labor Abroad," a publication of the U.S. Department of Labor, reports that the new law is based largely upon a bill drafted by representatives of West German labor and management after lengthy negotiations.

Although essential aspects of the law continue a pattern established in the Weimar republic, there are important modifications. For example, the labor court can now compel the employer to retain a worker if the contemplated discharge is "socially unjustified," whereas under the Weimar law the employer could discharge a worker under such circumstances by merely paying him an indemnity.

A dismissal notice to a West German worker over 20 years of age who has been continuously employed for more than six months in the same plant is not legally valid if, following the worker's objection,

such notice is judged to be socially unjustified.

When the worker feels his dismissal is socially unjustified he may request the aid of the works council in his plant and, if that is unsuccessful, carry an appeal to the labor court. If the labor court decides the dismissal is illegal and the worker then elects to terminate employment in the plant, the court can require the employer to pay him an indemnity.

In determining the amount of this indemnity, the court is to take into consideration the worker's length of employment and the economic situation of both parties. The maximum indemnity is one year's earnings.

Should the worker choose to remain on the job, the employer must reimburse him for earnings lost (not including what he may have earned elsewhere and social insurance payments received).

Works council members cannot be dismissed except in situations legally defined as justifying on-the-spot firing. Should the department in which a council member is employed be shut down, he is to be transferred to another department.



MR. MORSE



By DAVID A. MORSE

Director-General, International Labor Organization

WORKERS who think of wages in terms of automobiles and television sets will have some difficulty in comprehending what it means to think of a day's pay in terms of rice. Yet there are many millions of workers in the world today to whom a day's wage means little more than enough rice to feed their families—if even that.

To such persons some of the recommended standards of the International Labor Organization are still strictly academic. Social security, for them, is the difference between one day's insufficient food and real, gnawing hunger. Their necessity breeds abuses which must be overcome before such questions as overtime and paid vacations can begin.

At Bandung, Indonesia, the I.L.O. Committee on Plantation Work held its first meeting. It asked the I.L.O.'s Governing Body to order a number of important studies in the fields of workers' housing on plantations, education of workers' children and related subjects.

The committee also voted—with the unanimous support of employers, workers and government representatives—in favor of the abolition of penal sanctions, the gradual elimination of labor contractors and the encouragement of the development of trade unions on the plantations.

This was only one of the many I.L.O. conferences and meetings which have recently been held in

Asia or in which the workers of Asia were immediately concerned. The meeting of the I.L.O.'s Coal Mines Committee took many decisions of importance to the coal miners of India. One of the principal questions at the meeting of the I.L.O.'s Joint Maritime Commission involved the possible convocation of an Asian Maritime Conference. In the meantime, the commission asked the Governing Body to order an on-the-spot investigation of the conditions of Asian seafarers.

We at the I.L.O. know that we are living in one world in which the needs and aspirations of *all* coal miners and *all* seafarers are very much alike.

My travels in Europe, Latin America, the Near and Middle East, and Asia since I became director-general of the I.L.O. have made it clear that there are many points of similarity among peoples and nations. We really do live in one world, no matter how different some parts of it may look. I hope a day may come when that world may enjoy a peace and mutual understanding to match the universality of the individual aspirations of the common man.

In the meantime, such agencies as the I.L.O. must keep plugging away,

trying with all their might to make the world a little better and a little more secure for the workers and farmers on whom all hope of lasting peace must in the long view rest.

IN the latter part of 1947 the attempt of the I.L.O. to place greater emphasis on regional activities received great emphasis with the convening of regional conferences for Asia and the Far East and for the Near and Middle East. The former conference met at New Delhi, the latter at Istanbul. The main job of these meetings was to give the I.L.O. a clear understanding of what had to be done.

These beginnings were followed by more intensive activity in areas appropriate for international action. In Asia, the I.L.O. began to grapple with the problem of raising productivity through technical training and employment service organization; the

Asia, with more than half the world's population, produces only one-tenth of the world's national income, while North America, with less than 10 per cent of the population, accounts for nearly 45 per cent of the world's national income total.

role of cooperatives and handicrafts in development schemes; the conditions of plantation labor; the enforcement of labor standards through adequate inspection services; the raising of income of primary producers; and improvement of workers' facilities, including housing. The regional conference held in Ceylon in 1950 carried this work a stage farther.

The trend in regional activities has been toward increased operational work ever since, with considerable emphasis on the problems of agricultural labor. In the underdeveloped regions the vast majority of the population is engaged in agriculture, and improvement of their standards of living is basic to the problem of development of the region if such development is to benefit all classes.

In the industrial development of the countries of Asia, the I.L.O. has organized regional courses on vocational training, in response to the request of the Ceylon conference of 1950. These courses have been organized in four series:

- (1) The organization and administration of national training programs.
- (2) The organization and administration of apprenticeship programs.
- (3) The organization and administration of training of vocational training instructors.
- (4) The training of supervisors.

Courses in the first three series were organized on a regional basis and were given at Bangalore.

Those on national training programs were attended by participants from India, Indonesia, Japan and the Philippines and dealt with problems in the elaboration of national programs of vocational training based on the economic and social objectives to be obtained, the coordination of these various phases, methods and techniques of programs, their revision in the light of the evaluation of needs and the training of national administrative personnel to deal with training questions.

The courses on apprenticeship programs included the following studies: analysis of needs for apprenticeship, examination of relevant laws and regulations, elements of a good apprenticeship program, administrative organization of apprenticeship, etc. The participants were from India, Japan, Burma, Ceylon, the Philippines and Thailand.

Those who attended the third series of courses—on training vocational training instructors—were from Ceylon, India, Indonesia and the Philippines. They covered techniques applicable to the organization of programs for the training of instructors, the diffusion of methods of teaching and the adaptation of the training of instructors to the possible development of the program of vocational training.

The courses in the fourth series—on training of supervisors—were organized on a national basis in Ceylon, India, Pakistan and the Philippines. They dealt with techniques necessary for the introduction and spreading of the Training Within Industry method in three stages—training of a corps of T.W.I. trainers, training of future institute leaders, advice and assistance to governments for the development of T.W.I. programs.

Missions to give technical assist-



ance on training questions are now in progress in some places and soon will be in others. These range all the way from the training of farm machine operators in the Philippines to a T.W.I. job instruction course in Burma.

Technical assistance work has similarly been developed in regard to employment service organization. The I.L.O. is providing a mission to assist in organizing a manpower survey and an employment information service in Ceylon, and an employment service mission has also gone to Pakistan.

The establishment of the field office at Bangalore has made it possible to decentralize the information and documentation activities of the I.L.O. connected with manpower. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos have all had recourse to this center.

Emphasis has also been placed on wage policies in Asia. The Asian

Advisory Committee, meeting at Bandung in December of 1950, considered the question of wage policies in Asian countries. The committee emphasized the desirability of enacting legislation for the determination of minimum rates and of establishing the necessary machinery in all Asian countries where such action has not been taken. It further recommended to the I.L.O. Governing Body that the subject of wage policy in Asian countries should be placed on the agenda of the next Asian regional conference and that particular attention should be paid to wage problems when fixing the agenda of I.L.O. industrial committees.

Technical assistance is also being given in the development of cooperatives and in handicrafts and home industries.

In order to study the practical problems of developing the cooperative movement in Asia and to pool ideas on working procedures and on the implementation of cooperative development policies, the Asian Technical Conference of Cooperation Experts met at Karachi from December 26, 1950, to January 2, 1951. It studied the practical application of measures for cooperative development, the establishment of working relationships between cooperatives, the training of cooperative officers and employees and the cooperative organization of small-scale cottage and handicraft industries.

As a result of a mission to Turkey, a detailed report on cooperative problems in Turkey has been presented to the Turkish government, with recommendations, supported by draft legislation, for increasing the effectiveness of the movement.

In all of these undertakings, the advice and assistance of the workers from the more industrialized countries has been of immense assistance. I am particularly indebted to George P. Delaney, United States worker member of the Governing Body, for his constant interest and support.

I know that in thanking him I am at the same time thanking the officers and the eight million members of the American Federation of Labor, whose keen interest and strong support were given to the I.L.O. even before the United States officially became an I.L.O. member.

PRACTICING DEMOCRACY

By MILDRED H. MAHONEY

Chairman, Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination

THE Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, formerly the Massachusetts Fair Employment Practice Commission, has had most of its experience in the field of employment. In May, 1946, a law was passed in Massachusetts making it unlawful to discriminate against any inhabitant of the state in the getting of a job or in terms of employment if such discrimination was based upon race, color, religious creed, national origin or ancestry. In November of that year the commission began processing cases and at the same time carrying on its educational program.

The law wisely provided for this two-fold program of law-enforcing and education. Experience has shown that they supplement each other very effectively.

An amendment changed the name of the commission from the Massachusetts Fair Employment Practice Commission to the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination and added to its responsibilities. It also became unlawful in Massachusetts to use discriminatory terms in advertising places of public accommodation or to refuse accommodations in such places. In addition, it became unlawful to discriminate or segregate in the selection of tenants for public housing. A subsequent amendment struck at job discrimination because of age.

So at present the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination is handling discrimination in employment based upon race, color, religious creed, national origin, age and ancestry and also discrimination as it may occur in connection with places of public accommodation and public housing.

From November 10, 1946, to March 30, 1951, a total of 624 cases was settled. Of these, 620 involved em-



MRS. MAHONEY

ployment and the other four were based upon age.

WHEN a case concerning employment is being handled by the commission, two things are considered: (1) the case as presented by the complainant and (2) the over-all employment pattern of the company.

Let us say, by way of illustration, that Mr. A. applies for a job in response to a newspaper advertisement. He believes he is qualified for the job. He is refused an interview and is not allowed to fill out an application blank, although he sees other men being interviewed and filling out application forms. He concludes he has been so treated because he is colored and makes a complaint against Company X.

When a field representative starts investigating the case, he discovers that no colored men were hired that day, although a number of white men were hired, and, furthermore, that the employment pattern of the concern reveals that there are no colored employees.

This in itself is not proof of discrimination. There may be an explanation which will clear the com-

pany of a general pattern of discrimination, although it will certainly be guilty of having discriminated against Mr. A. in that he was not interviewed and not allowed to fill out an application blank as were the other job applicants. The commission would ask that such an injustice be corrected. If this were done, the case would be settled "after investigation and conference." If this were not done, the case would be referred to the other commissioners for a hearing and court action might ensue.

When a case is filed with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, one of the three commissioners becomes the investigating commissioner and must try, through "conference, conciliation and persuasion"—these words appear in the law itself—to settle the case. If the conference technique fails, the case is referred to the other two commissioners. To March 30 of last year, 376 cases had been settled after investigation and conference, 201 dismissed for lack of probable cause and there had been one hearing.

Besides the number of cases that have been brought to the attention of the commission and settled, the commission has dealt with 174 investigations as part of its educational program. The over-all objective of the commission is to help develop such public opinion that dislike and misunderstanding of groups as groups will cease and there will be substituted mutual understanding and goodwill.

Numerous instances have been brought to the commission involving difficulties and tensions based upon race, color, religious creed, national origin, age and ancestry. The personnel manager of a large company telephoned to say that in one of his

departments a maintenance man claimed he was being persecuted by three young men because of his religion. They had even gone so far as to hang him in effigy. The commission met with the personnel manager, the maintenance man and the three young workmen. At the end of the meeting the trouble was straightened out and has remained so.

Another typical investigation concerned a personality conflict that had a definite racial angle. It was claimed that some white employes ganged up on a young colored trainee in a hospital. Again a conference took care of the situation.

Whenever an investigation is undertaken, it is made very clear to all the parties who are invited to meet with the commission that they are completely free to come or not. An investigation is purely an educational matter. The commission has no authority as it has in the handling of cases, and any compliance is completely voluntary.

Perhaps the most significant educational work has been done through the regional councils that the commission is empowered to create. These councils are made up of civic-minded people serving on a voluntary basis. There are four such councils, located in Springfield, Boston, New Bedford and Worcester. Each of these councils has made surveys of employment opportunities in its area. Such surveys have covered large businesses, stores, public utilities and banks. In the Boston area there also have been surveys of employment agencies and hospitals.

These surveys are made in the following manner: The chairman of the



To provide equal job opportunities for all is object of state's law

regional council sends a letter to a selected number of concerns asking if a field representative from the commission may call and talk over with the head of the organization the employment policies of that concern. This is part of the educational program and is not in any way to be confused with a case or the procedure that would be followed in investigating a case. The purpose of a survey is to get acquainted and to promote voluntary compliance with the law. A check, however, is made in relation to the posting of the summary which is put out by the commission and of application for employment forms.

Besides sponsoring surveys the councils have arranged to have field representatives of the commission stay in a centrally located office, usually in City Hall, for a period of a week or two in order to explain the operation of the law to anyone who is interested and to receive complaints. Council members give talks on the work of the commission, distribute material and report any cases that come to their attention. Perhaps their most important contribution is the most difficult to evaluate—the effect of their interest and belief in the work of the commission as it is shown in their day-to-day

living and conversation with their friends and associates.

Other groups that play a most important part in the cooperative educational program are school departments, police departments and ventures that the commission enters into with other groups, both public and private, that have as their purpose the promotion of better racial and religious understanding.

Our "Scrapbook for Teachers," which is equally adapted for any adult or high school group, attempts to present both factual and inspirational quotations from books and magazines that will prompt the reader to think more deeply and clearly about his relations with his fellow human beings. It has been widely distributed throughout the public schools and parochial schools in Massachusetts, and sample copies have traveled in recent years to many of the forty-eight states.

THE commission also publishes a quarterly newsletter and technical material, such as commission policies and rules and regulations. The annual reports run about sixty pages and give a very comprehensive picture of commission activities.

It is difficult to evaluate this type of social legislation, especially since

*If you sincerely value
our free way of life*



**ATTEND AND TAKE PART
IN YOUR UNION'S MEETINGS**

this law has been in existence for a relatively short period. But in that space of time the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination has noted a great deal of voluntary compliance. Qualified people of various religious, racial and nationality backgrounds are finding it easier than formerly to get jobs in Massachusetts.

The commission checks on all of its cases after a six-month period. It has found that the new employees are getting on well and without friction. The fear that other employees would resent them has not materialized. It is extremely rare for two cases to be brought against the same concern, but it is quite usual to find, once a discriminatory pattern has been broken, that a concern will hire others of the new group on a purely voluntary basis.

There seem to be in this world two

distinct types of individuals, the authoritarian and the democratic. The first wants to keep advantages, preferments and rewards for himself and his immediate group. The second type wants to share the good things of life with other people, whatever their race, religion, nationality background or economic status may be. These two types of people appear in all groups in our society.

What is earnestly to be hoped is that all democratically inclined individuals, whatever their group affiliations, will realize that such laws as are administered by the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination represent the type of thinking and action they applaud and therefore merit their wholehearted support.

We in Massachusetts want a state where people are judged on their individual merits and receive com-

mendation because of those merits. If a person deserves praise and advancement, he should receive it irrespective of his race, religion or national origin. It is as simple as that. And of course we hope, too, to make some converts among the authoritarians!

What happens in our state is important because it affects not only our state but our country, and what happens in our country affects the world. Our job of promoting the essential brotherhood of man is therefore of greatest importance.

In this work labor organizations have aided us from the very beginning. They supported the original fair employment practice bill and throughout these five and one-half years have given continued evidence of their interest.

For this support by labor we are very appreciative and grateful.

Taxes Cut Living Standards

(Continued from Page 12)

increased considerably since 1948 for those in the lower income brackets, it is obvious that savings in 1951 must have been even more heavily concentrated in the hands of the 40 per cent in the higher income groups and the plight of the 40 per cent in the low income groups is even more serious.

Relief from the federal income tax burden is not the only answer to the problem of taxpayers in the income groups below \$2000. Increasing the minimum hourly rate to \$1 under the Wage and Hour Law would mean a yearly income of \$2080 for a steadily employed worker. A \$1.25 minimum would raise that income to \$2600. The present minimum of \$1560 is unrealistic in view of current living costs and mounting federal, state and local taxes.

The steadily increasing tax burden piled on those in the low income groups during the Forties and in 1950 and 1951 has been equally unrealistic. The \$1000 tax exemption for a single person and the \$2500 exemption for a married couple prior to World War II had been established in consideration of the need for preserving basic living standards. The existing per capita exemption of \$600 means only \$316 in terms of prewar purchasing power and was adopted to broaden the tax base to increase fed-

eral revenue without any relation to its adequacy or inadequacy. The result has been that income taxes paid by those in the income groups below \$2000 a year operate to undermine basic living standards.

Up to this time Congress has consistently failed to recognize the injustice to the low-income citizens. The A. F. of L. recognizes that increasing the exemption would not be the most effective answer to the problem since, while each \$100 increase in exemption may save \$20 for the needy taxpayer, it would mean a much larger saving to the income tax payer in the upper brackets and involve a revenue loss of more than two billion dollars to the federal treasury.

The A. F. of L. has urged several times that relief to the low-income taxpayers be extended in the form of tax credits. The practical nature of this suggestion may be realized from the fact that close to 9,000,000 taxpayers in the income groups below \$2000 will pay approximately one billion dollars in income taxes in 1952. A substantial portion of these income tax payments, amounting on an average to \$113 per taxpayer, should be allowed as tax credits, thereby providing substantial relief to low-income taxpayers with a minimum of revenue loss to the govern-



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you have to register**

ment. We believe this adjustment to relieve low income taxpayers of the present income tax burden should be given first priority.

Such relief is practical and necessary whether or not the defense program continues to require the imposition of federal taxes at existing high levels or at even higher levels.

With national income at an all-time high, and with spending, savings and employment at record levels, necessary tax revenue can be secured from income groups and revenue sources too long neglected by Congress.



WANG CHUNG

China's Workers Are SUFFERING

By WANG CHUNG

*Leader of Underground Trade Union Movement
Behind Communist China's Iron Curtain*

UNDER the banner of Russia's Cominform, the Chinese Communists are preparing for more wars in Asia—on a larger scale. More wars are coming in Asia. Today the only industries running full blast in China are the munitions industries and their accessories.

In Shanghai, the Communist aggressors are building new extensions of their small-arms factories, all of which are running day and night on double shift. The stockpiling of heavy Russian tanks, guns and jet aircraft in Shanghai is frightening. The city's air is roaring daily with the sound of jet aircraft coursing across the sky.

What about the workers? When the Communists first entered Shanghai, their policy was "business as usual." Within three months near-normal industrial production was reached. Then came expropriation.

With Communist backing, the workers in the privately owned—especially foreign-owned—plants demanded the power of control. The workers got that power; the plants were theirs, said the Communists.

Wages then were doubled or tripled and working hours were reduced. However, business fell off. The plant owners sought loans from Communist banks. Soon the employers went broke. Then the factories were taken over by Soviet authorities on the Communist-directed "request" of the workers. Retrenchment ensued. Now wages were slashed and working

hours increased—also on the alleged "request" of the workers. The workers always managed to adopt "unanimously" resolutions of "willingness" to sacrifice their personal interests for the state. Even the slaves of the slave labor camps in North China and Manchuria "volunteer" their services in writing!

How do the workers of China feel about this? Two years ago they were non-committal. Today 95 per cent of Chinese labor hates communism and everything it stands for. For one thing, working hours have increased from the former eight-to-ten-hour day to twelve hours, with an additional two- to four-hour increase for munitions and other war plants.

Wages have been cut to the bone. Three years ago I was getting 600 pounds of rice per month for a nine-hour day. Six months ago I drew 200 pounds of rice per month for a sixteen-hour day.

Secondly, we were asked to liquidate the employer class. We did. Now lots of us are unemployed.

Third, farmers have been pitted against the landlord. Anyone who leases even half an acre of land is a "landlord" and may be arrested or shot. This is so-called "agrarian reform," by which many people in the West have been fooled.

The state has now stepped in with a harsh cruelty far in excess of that of even the most heartless of landlords. I saw with my own eyes farm-

ers paying three-quarters of their harvests to the Communist state in the form of taxes.

Fourth, the Communists are bent on destroying China's family system. Children are taught to denounce their parents in public. There is no sense of security from the police or M.V.D. boys.

To compensate for what the Communists know to be the rapidly increasing opposition to their tactics, a mass purge of dissident elements among all classes of the people in China was set in force through regulations passed on February 21, 1951. Since that date there has been going on what is probably the biggest wholesale slaughter of innocent people in the history of the world. Executions of the Chinese people take place both privately and in public, in some cases before huge crowds. The so-called trials of the people are very often broadcast so that all may be terrorized.

On April 27, 1951, the Communist police rounded up 60,000 persons in Shanghai alone. On May 1 the Communists executed 285 workers at one time in that city.

And so, in the name of communism, socialism or whatever you wish to call it, our people are dying, our families being destroyed, our Confucian teachings damned. In Soviet China falsehood is truth, blackmail is honor, bondage is freedom, hatred is love, war is peace.

Can there be any wonder that the Chinese workers resist? We shall resist and resist again and again until we are free men in a free world.

Two years ago there suddenly appeared on the mainland and in Free China [Formosa] an organization, the Free China Labor League. The League has drawn tremendous encouragement and spiritual assistance from the American Federation of Labor and its Free Trade Union Committee.

Several thousand of our trade union brothers have been arrested and

shot, many of them for resisting or taking proper care of war-making plants so that they can no longer serve the enemies of the Chinese people.

Our underground workers in China are daily keeping alive the spirit of freedom and of friendship for America and other free lands. Chinese factory workers behind the Iron Curtain have come to know of such organizations as the American Federation of Labor. They are seeing the slave labor maps. They are getting plenty of news about the free trade unions of the world because we get it to them

through the tyrants' Iron Curtain.

The American Federation of Labor should never underestimate its importance in this world crisis. More than any government, more than any military group or big financial corporation, more than any political group, more than any official or unofficial propaganda organization, the American Federation of Labor, through its activities based on its shrewd insight into man's true hopes, has brought its influence to bear upon the Chinese people and given them hope in the present darkness.

Smart People Work Safely

By NED H. DEARBORN, *President, National Safety Council*

LAST year industrial accidents killed thousands and injured almost 2,000,000. Why?

Part of the answer lies in the forced expansion of the labor force. Hours of work are up in many instances—necessarily so. And tired workers are more accident-prone.

New installations and equipment and unfamiliar processes have safety kinks to be worked out. Sometimes these are delayed in the urgency of getting into production.

These, then, are some of the reasons for increased industrial accidents. But the reasons for accidents are no justification for them.

American workers are not expendable in the production crisis. Machines are needed in modern war, but men must make them and men must use them.

Men—working and fighting men—are the key to our future. Our potential and actual enemies have men, hordes of them. We have fewer men. Our hope is to balance the scales by each of our men giving a better account of himself, whether behind a howitzer or a turret lathe. We must conserve manpower, and accidents are a waste we cannot afford.

The American worker, like Americans in all walks of life, is acutely aware of his countrymen squatting in muddy foxholes in Korea, and he is inclined to feel that any risk he takes in getting the tools of war on their

way to the front is small indeed to that experienced every hour by his compatriots in uniform.

This attitude is admirable up to a point—the point of foolhardiness. An accident on the job spells loss. Safety on the job is the same as efficiency and production speed.

What can you do as an individual to avoid an accident, to keep your part of the production team functioning smoothly?

First, know your job. Knowing the job means you must know the potential hazards of the job—what can happen that might cause trouble. But don't learn hazards by accident. Instead, learn by asking questions. Don't let false pride hold you back. Keep asking questions until you understand. Make the experience of others work in your favor.

Once you have learned the safe way of doing a job, do it that way all the time. Get in the habit of doing things the safe way. Then, when you need to make an adjustment on a machine, you will turn the power off without thinking. When you lean over a grinder, it will be second nature for you to pull your goggles into place. Let safe habits work for you.

To be a safe worker, you must know yourself as well as your job. That means knowing your abilities and your limitations, both physical and mental. It isn't easy to size one-

self up accurately, but try it; it will make a safer worker out of you.

Know what you don't know. If you are not an electrician, don't figure that you can handle an electrical job. If you don't understand chemicals, leave them alone.

What about your personality, your character traits? Are you impulsive, impatient, absent-minded? Try to find a clue to these traits in your day-to-day behavior—at home, for example. When a door sticks, is your first impulse to kick it loose? Then be warned that you may react impulsively when confronted with some annoyance on the job—and get hurt.

How about emotions? Do you let them get you down? If you have a spat with your wife before leaving for work, don't keep the pot boiling for the remainder of the day. Get it out of your mind, and by the time you confront the little woman in the evening it won't be half so important.

Don't let worry gnaw at you. Talk your problem over with someone if you can. Worry never solves anything, but it does leave you wide open for an accident.

Learn to recognize and admit it to yourself when you are too tired, in poor health or upset emotionally.

Every worker should make safety on the job a personal thing. This attitude toward safety, if accepted generally, will help to diminish industrial accidents and thereby strengthen our country for the difficult days ahead.



When the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in New York City put on a dance, a good time was had by all

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Two thousand members of the Boilermakers in San Francisco and other California cities have received a boost in hourly pay following approval of the raise by the Wage Stabilization Board. The decision made the increase retroactive to October.

►Local 86 of the Typographical Union has secured a wage increase of \$5 a week for composing room employees of the Reading, Pa., *Eagle-Times*.

►The California Machinists' Non-Partisan Political League will sponsor a series of television programs in Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego.

►Local 37, Blacksmiths, Portland, Ore., has won a wage increase and other improvements at the Portland Chain and Manufacturing Company.

►Local 770, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, has gained a 20-cent hourly increase for members employed at the Springfield Body and Trailer plant and the Frazier Tandem system at Springfield, Mo. The new contract also provides the workers half the cost of work clothing.

►Local 691 of the Street Railway Employees and Local 453 of the Electrical Workers, Springfield, Mo., have obtained hourly pay increases from City Utilities and two additional paid holidays.

►Local 298 of the Cement Workers, Buffalo, has secured a cost-of-living wage increase.

►Local 212 of the Blacksmiths, Los Angeles, has won a wage increase at the Los Angeles Boiler Works.

►The Switchmen's Union has won bargaining rights for some 3,600 men on the Southern Pacific Railroad. It was the third such victory for the Switchmen in recent months.

►Local 1257, Retail Clerks, has gained for its members employed in Portland, Ore., men's clothing stores a reduction in working hours from 45 to 40 weekly and a wage increase of 12 per cent for non-commission employees.

►Local 68, Cement Workers, Fort Worth, has obtained a wage increase for members who are employed by the General Portland Cement Company.

►Local 155, Grain Millers, won bargaining rights for the employees of the Farmers Grain and Bean Association, Denver, in a recent N.L.R.B. election.

►For the first time in its history, the National Labor Relations Board has ordered an election among the employees of a labor union. The union involved in the capacity of an employer is the Air Line Pilots Association. "It seems clear that Congress intended that labor unions be treated like any other employer with regard to their own employees," said the N.L.R.B. in explaining its action.

►Applications are now being accepted for the 1952-1953 term of the Training Institute of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. The new term is the third in the history of the pioneer school dedicated to the professional training of trade union personnel. Applicants must be between 21 and 35. Tuition is free.

►The Otis Elevator Company has been ordered by the National Labor Relations Board to desist from interfering with, restraining or coercing employees in the exercise of their self-organization rights. The interested union is the International Union of Elevator Constructors.

►Tribute to old-timers of Local 1535, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Highland, Ill., was paid at a dinner. Twenty-five-year pins were presented to fourteen members who began with the local a quarter of a century ago and have stuck with it through thick and thin.

►Pay increases of 12 cents an hour have been won by the United Textile Workers in a contract with Firestone Textiles at Woodstock, Ont. The mill is owned by Firestone Tire and Rubber.

►At Sacramento, Calif., local unions and councils and the *Labor Bulletin*, local labor newspaper, have moved into the new Labor Center. Spacious and comfortable meeting halls, plus adequate parking facilities, have greatly increased attendance at meetings, it is reported.

►The West Coast Casket Company, Los Angeles, has been ordered by the National Labor Relations Board to cease and desist from discouraging membership in the Upholsterers International Union of North America and to offer reinstatement with back pay to employees illegally fired.

►Local 783 of the Carpenters, Sioux Falls, S. D., marked the completion of half a century of existence with a sumptuous banquet at the Labor Temple. A highlight of the evening was the introduction of pension members of the local. Five of the seven pension members were on hand. The other two were unable to attend.

►Christian Fette, leader of German trade unionism, has warned the West German government that it would be

stupid not to use the strong forces of labor which are offering themselves to the democratic state. All those who believe in democracy in Germany can always rely on the trade unions, he emphasized.

►May Darling, chairman of the Oregon Federation of Labor's Standing Committee on Education, has been named to the State Board of Education. She is a member of the American Federation of Teachers.

Housing Snafu

(Continued from Page 11)

gram generated an enthusiastic response during the period just before Korea.

Certainly this type of housing is far more essential than the building of high-priced luxury homes which has continued almost undiminished during the defense emergency. Yet Congress has completely ignored the need for this program.

This has been the record of inaction on housing. It will not be improved unless union members and other liberal forces insist that now more than ever our housing resources must be used to meet our most urgent housing needs.

We have got to make it clear to Congress that business as usual in housing is a luxury we cannot afford in these critical times. A minimum housing program for 1952 must include:

(1) A genuine defense housing program to provide moderate rental

homes for defense workers—if possible, by private builders, but if not, through publicly financed construction.

(2) 135,000 units of low-rent public housing.

(3) Special aids for cooperative and other non-profit housing projects for middle-income families.

Much valuable time has been lost and irreplaceable resources wasted. Congress will turn deaf ears to our demands for a housing program geared to the defense emergency unless the combined voices of unions and other liberal groups in the nation can more than match the raucous shouts of the real estate lobby.

This makes it all the more important that local A. F. of L. housing committees be organized in every area in order to mobilize the pro-housing forces in the community.

Let's make housing-for-defense everybody's job in 1952!

Uncle Sam Should Do It, Too

(Continued from Page 13)

since the curtailment of mail and elimination of certain postal functions.

There have been halfway and piecemeal attempts in the past to accomplish some of the things that flow freely from labor-management councils.

For example, Public Law 600, approved August 2, 1946, authorized awards to employees for ideas and suggestions to improve government operation. The establishment of the system itself dates back to 1943.

In the postal service this program does not admit rank-and-file representation on the panel designated to

judge suggestions. For this and possibly other reasons the system has proved to be a dud in the Postoffice Department. Without representation, there is less incentive for rank-and-file employees to participate.

It is significant that the agencies with the best record along these lines are those with employee representation on committees functioning on an advisory basis, variously known by an assortment of titles. Basically this representation constitutes a phase of labor-management relationship.

A real service would be rendered everyone concerned if the Rhodes or Withrow bill were enacted into law.

Labor Works for World Freedom

By ALEX ROSE

President, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers

NO GROUP has made a bigger contribution to the defense of world freedom and the preservation of democratic liberties than the organized working people of the United States. They have always contributed their share to the common pool of toil and sacrifice made by all the people of our country and, in addition, they have contributed their special effort, their special skill and knowledge.

American labor, better than anyone else in the country, knew the devious ways and disguises of the Communist enemy and understood the menace he constituted to our freedom and our welfare.

Long before the nation as a whole was aroused to the evil and corruption of communism, we of the organized labor movement had come to know the aims, motives and tactics of the Communists. We learned from direct and bitter experience with them, because we were the first victims of their assaults and infiltrations.

In the trial by battle in which we saved our trade unions from capture and destruction, we came to know that the Communist enemy is ruthless and unprincipled, disdainful of truth and integrity, dedicated to a foreign power which seeks the destruction of liberty and democracy.

It is a devastating commentary on the character of the Communist movement that in America it finds its most determined and effective opposition not among the capitalists and others in high station but rather among the working people in whose name the Communists pretend to speak. Never had prophets been so dishonored in their own domain as the Communists have been in the house of American labor, but, then, never had prophets been so false and never had they so dishonored the aims, ideals and aspirations of labor as the Communists have done.

It is not the capitalists and exploiters of labor whom the Communists have fought in the United States. Nor



MR. ROSE

is it the so-called bourgeois class they opposed in our country, for most of their influential adherents, agents and spies have come from the middle class, the half-baked intellectuals, fuzzy-minded "progressives" and immature college juveniles.

It is labor, more than any other segment of our population, that has been consistently in the forefront of the struggle against the Communists. The trade unions of America were the first to recognize both the evil and the duplicity of communism. The organized working people constitute the one group in American society that both knows the score on the Communists and is ready and willing to make the sacrifices necessary to combat them.

Working people abroad, who are bewildered by the claims and slogans of the Communists and are subjected to an unceasing stream of slander against the United States, which is supposedly ruled by "Wall Street imperialists" and "capitalist warmongers," might well ask why it is that the American labor movement has most persistently and most effectively fought the Communists. The answer is simple enough.

In the age-long struggle of humanity against tyranny, dictatorship and other forms of arbitrary power, the working people have always been at the forefront of the battle. They fought the monarchs and the feudal lords and barons. They fought the slaveholders and the sweatshoppers. They fought the Nazis and the Fas-

cists. And they are fighting the new form of tyranny and enslavement which goes under the name of communism.

The basic issue has always been the same. We resisted tyranny because it denied our rights as individual citizens. It violated our dignity as human beings and deprived us of justice, liberty and equality. A brave document of the American Revolution, one of the eloquent declarations in the history of civilization, states that all men are created equal, are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The Communists, like the protagonists of tyranny in all ages, deny this right and say that individuals must surrender their freedoms to the supposedly superior wisdom of their form of dictatorship. They speak of freedom while they move to enslave the people. Right now they beat their breasts with cries of "peace" while they prepare for war.

The Communists cannot fool the American working people, but it is possible that they can still mislead workers abroad who have suffered the ravages of war and think that they can find in communism a way out of their misery. To them we wish to state that the American labor movement offers them infinitely more hope and more sustenance than ever the spokesmen of subversion can bring.

The free American labor movement has exposed the machinations of the Communist labor front, the World Federation of Trade Unions. We helped organize the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in order to signalize our readiness to assist all working people in their struggle for freedom and economic betterment. We helped expose the obscenity of human slavery which Soviet Russia practices with the aid of its government-controlled unions. We have shown how the working

people in Czechoslovakia, Poland and other Soviet-dominated countries are being exploited and sweated for the benefit of the Communist master class. We shall do everything in our power to help our brothers and sisters abroad resist the encroachments of the Communists in the lands that are still free and independent, and we shall help those in the Soviet orbit

overthrow the tyrants who oppress them and reduce them to misery, poverty and degradation.

To our own people and to our friends and fellow workers abroad we say: "Be of good heart! We know what the Communists have done to you and can do to us. We know their tricks and stratagems. We have fought them and defeated them in

our own organizations. No matter what toil and effort and sacrifice may be demanded of us, we shall continue to fight them until the infamy of Communist duplicity, Communist tyranny and Communist enslavement is wiped off from the face of the earth."

Letters abroad can help relay this message of hope.

New Tricks of Anti-Labor Employers

By CURTIS SIMS

*Director of Organization, Bakery and Confectionery
Workers International Union of America*

BECAUSE of the Taft-Hartley Act and various state anti-labor statutes, the employer can do or say just about anything he wants to do or say in order to prevent his plant from becoming unionized.

He can call the employes together as a captive audience and harangue them on "why you shouldn't join the union." Sometimes his arguments—on the surface—seem substantial. But scratch below the surface and you find nothing but his fear that his workers' pay is going up and he is going to have to institute better working conditions. It is up to you to expose his statements.

Don't be misled into thinking that when you've obtained authorization cards from a majority of the workers that the fight is over. It has only begun. Such signatures are more or less token, and when the employer learns you have them the battle lines are really formed.

Sometimes an employer will agree to a consent election when he has been contacted for recognition, but most of the time he will compel you to go through the National Labor Relations Board or State Labor Relations Board. Now is when you can expect the full blast of employer propaganda.

This always follows a general pattern. The function of new organizing literature issued by our union is to show up this employer propaganda. Copies of the union's literature are available for distribution to the workers whom the locals are seeking to organize.

If you know ahead of time what the employer is going to do, you can be warned against it and be ready for it. Here is what the employer generally does: He sends his propaganda to the workers, usually in a

series of letters about ten days before the election. He fires a couple of workers. He grants a voluntary increase in wages. He calls the employes into the office, one at a time, and promises wage increases, promises promotion to a better job and threatens loss of time or a wage decrease if the union wins the election.

There is no reason for any election to be lost by the union if the ground has been carefully prepared in advance. The poor organizer rushes in too soon or waits too long. The good organizer knows, almost instinctively, when his position is strongest.

THE sad part about the whole thing is that workers who are pulling the whole wage structure down must actually be convinced that there is strength and security in unity each with the other. They allow the straw man of "an outside agency"—that's what management calls the union—to obscure the fact that when they join the union, it is more like the union joining them, that they themselves are the union and there is no third party concerned.

Management wouldn't mind the union if unions were ineffective. The union is worthwhile. Even management, by inference, admits that.

The practice of writing letters to employes has developed, almost overnight, into a science. Consider a recent article in the Chicago *Daily News* which treats this new science: "Many bosses think letters help employe relations, although if the letter isn't written right it can backfire badly. There is a definite trick about writing such a letter."

Yes, the whole thing is a "trick"—a trick to trick the workers into believing that the bosses have their best

interests at heart. Of course, it is the union that has their best interests at heart. The boss is out to do only one thing—make money.

Now bosses are sending letters to the homes. So the wives can read them. The psychology is to scare the wives into urging their men to vote against union representation by telling them (by inference, usually) that if the union comes in there'll be a strike and wages will stop.

"We know that many of the wives of our workers are reading the letters even if their husbands are not," one company says, reported the *Daily News* article.

"Several companies believe that in time of labor disturbances serious trouble was averted by the home influence on workers," it continued.

The most "serious trouble," from the bosses' standpoint, would be to have the union win an election.

What does all this letter-writing mean? It means that employers are pulling every trick in the bag in an effort to divert the yet unorganized workers from union membership.

It means that, on the opposite side, every union member must make it his duty to see that the unorganized worker does not fall for this high-powered, triple-distilled advertising agency propaganda.

We can win without paying psychology professors and advertising copywriters fat fees because we have the truth and right and justice on our side. Labor seeks no fat profits. All we seek is a living wage for our people with decent hours and conditions. We can extend our membership only through the members carrying the word of organization to the unorganized.

Tell the unorganized not to believe that propaganda from employers.

WHAT THEY SAY

President Truman—The Charter of the United Nations is a contract



among the members to settle their disputes peacefully and to promote the economic and social advancement of all peoples for the building and maintenance of a durable world order. We support the United Nations and keep this contract because the Charter expresses our fundamental aims in the modern world. We know that the fulfillment of the Charter will best advance our own vital interests—to attain peace with justice, to assure freedom and to bring about economic and social progress for ourselves and all peoples. It is for this reason that support of the United Nations is and must be Point One of our foreign policy. Most of the nations of the world share these objectives and are working through the United Nations to achieve them. The United Nations is an organization to help members resolve international difficulties. It is also a mirror in which the state of world affairs is reflected. We cannot expect from the United Nations immediate solutions of problems as large and complex as many that are before it. But already we have seen how, by its debates and decisions, it is helping to guide the nations into the ways of peace.

Hugo Ernst, president, Hotel and Restaurant Employes—"The bigger



the vote, the better for working people." There, in a nutshell, is the political problem facing organized labor in 1952. We've got to get working people to the polls. From now on union men and women from coast to coast are going to hear a lot about this subject. The biggest political hurdle labor has is registration. The figures show that

in city after city frighteningly large numbers of union people are not even registered. Yet nothing is closer to our pocketbooks than our votes. Hard-hitting collective bargaining and vigorous, resourceful strike action remain labor's key weapons in the struggle for better living standards. But the edges of both are dulled when labor's millions fail to vote. It was our failure to vote in 1950 that put us in the wringer of rising prices and frozen pay; and only our votes in 1952 can take off that unbearable pressure. The local union that fails to mobilize its membership as voters is fighting the workers' battle with one hand tied behind its back. It is doing only half the job. It may be working like crazy to organize the unorganized and to negotiate good contracts. But if it is doing nothing to hold those gains through putting the political power of working people behind liberal, progressive-minded candidates for public office, it is leaving the job half done.

Daniel J. Tobin, president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters—



It is a fact that I am of the laboring class. I worked and toiled for many years almost as a slave, but I think I have done my share to defend honest employers and to fight for what is commonly called free enterprise, based on justice to all. All my life I have been trying to instill into the minds of labor and capital that we must treat each other as if we were on the other side and make allowances for the other fellow, understanding fully that we must educate those who substantially disagree with us, especially when it comes to wages and hours. And we must educate ourselves. However, it is extremely difficult to make the man who has a family believe he has been treated justly by his employer when the worker is not starving but in want, and not able to save anything for the rainy day which comes with old age.

Meanwhile, the employer shows enormous profits after deducting every kind of an expense which clever lawyers can devise, in order to reduce those profits on paper for the purpose of evading taxes and in an endeavor to prove to the employees that the profits will not warrant an increase in wages. Under those circumstances it is difficult to make men believe that they have been treated fairly.

George Meany, A. F. of L. secretary-treasurer—Here in America we



have our own little Hitlers. Racial and religious discrimination on the job still exists. Bigotry and prejudice are human failings which are difficult to eradicate. The Jewish Labor Committee has been doing yeoman work in this field. And Bill Green has backed it up at every opportunity. Quietly but effectively, he has striven over the years to eliminate this blight upon our democracy, to uphold the high principles of the American Federation of Labor, which knows no color lines and which recognizes no religious bars—whose founder and first president, as every one knows, was a Jew—and the record proves the high degree of progress he achieved.

Brien McMahon, Senator from Connecticut—The advocates of liberal



and progressive legislation fared badly in the 1950 elections. The results are now showing up in the Eighty-second Congress. By crippling President Truman's price control and stabilization program, Congress adopted a course that has serious consequences on the fight to control inflation. The best service which can be rendered is to put the facts before the people now. In the highly charged atmosphere of a political campaign it is often impossible to get the issues before the people in proper perspective. But if the voters are currently informed of what is happening in Congress, they will form their own judgments on Election Day.

THE ARRIVAL

THE New Year hung on a star. He looked over the world. "So this is it," he mused. "This is my world."

He gazed across the scene around and below him.

"While I'm up here I may as well get a good look-see, because I won't have much chance to look around after I get started on my course."

"Which is exactly as it was with me," a tired voice said.

Close beside the New Year came the Old Year, pausing to rest on his staff and casting a few backward glances along the way he had just come.

"Have you seen my star any place around?" asked the tired voice. "It is supposed to be here to pick me up. It should arrive about now."

"Yes, it's here beside me," said the New Year, extending a hand to his friend. "Come, let me help you up on it."

As the Old Year climbed up, the New Year said:

"We will have a moment to talk before my star swings down and I step out upon the world."

"Yes, there is always a moment or two for the years to meet and greet each other," the Old Year answered. "Your star is so bright. Mine seems dark in comparison."

"Oh, that depends upon your point of view," the New Year replied. "I am sure that for many 1951 will always be a bright and shining star. Of course, I hope that when I leave at the end of my term I shall be remembered as a fine year. But I also know there will be some who will think I have brought sad and dark days."

"I guess you are right, young man," the Old Year agreed. "I know there are many families who will always say, in referring to me, 'Those were the good times,' or perhaps some will say, 'I'll never forget 1951. That's the year we were married.' And others will say, 'Wonderful 1951, that's the year the baby came,' and many will

say, 'That's the year I joined the union.'

"And I suppose if those days are added up against the others, there will be as many happy times as the sad times, when lovers parted or families were separated, when sons left home or daughters moved away. There will be a balance struck, no doubt."

"There will be a balance struck, no doubt," the New Year echoed. "And it will be up to me to see to it that for a year there is a balance in the world. What a task lies ahead for me!" He sighed. Then, with a smile of hope, he turned to his companion and said: "Now I must be on my way. My star is swinging down. I am now The Present."

"And mine is swinging up, to put me with The Past," called the Old Year. "Goodbye, dear friend. Good luck!"

And down on Earth all mankind waited. Questions filled the air.

There were some who expected the answers to come with the dawning of the first day. Wiser ones knew that patient waiting would bring forth the answers. Others knew that only by doing would the responses come. Oh, it was a busy, varied lot of people who waited on Earth to greet the New Year.

There were the young and happy ones, eager to get started. There were the older ones, a little pressed for time, who demanded only the chance to prove again their worth and strength. There were also the old, for whom the New Year was only a little extra time given them for a summing up of the years that had gone before.

There were the dreamers and the singers, the poets and the artists. There were the lawmakers, seeking to evolve better rules of conduct to bring forth a finer people. There were the brave, courageous ones asking if the battle soon would end, or if forever and ever they must face the deadly

forces of hate and violence, to vanquish or be vanquished, with no middle ground for peace.

There were the mothers getting the children ready for school and taking care of the homes. There were the fathers going to work to earn the money to keep the families. There were union men and women going to their union meetings to safeguard their way of earning their livelihoods. There were the merchants and the shopkeepers with their wares to meet the needs of their communities. And the teachers and the students, the instructors and the apprentices learning better methods of production.

There were the military forces waging war to gain the peace and the ministers and the doctors, the priests and laymen seeking to give healthier minds and bodies and deep spiritual meaning to the lives around them.

And all, all were looking to the New Year to give them the opportunity to build a finer world.

These were the ones to whom the New Year looked for help in striking the balance against the forces of destruction, the pestilences and the plagues, the crimes and misdemeanors which cast darkness and shadow across The Present.

For the one breathless moment Time stood still. Then with a ray of light the New Year stepped upon the Earth as across the length and breadth of the world sped the wondrous wish of "Happy New Year!"



Students! You may have free material about the American labor movement by writing to Junior Union, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington 1, D. C.

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